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BERNSTEIN VS. "OLD-SCHOOL" MARXISM.

I.

In the year 1862, the energy and ambition of Ferdinand Lassalle sought an outlet in an agitation in behalf of the laboring class. In 1863 this wonderful man created the Universal German Laborers' Union (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*), the first organization of German social democracy. Killed in a duel in 1864, he left a small, and not altogether harmonious, group of followers. In the same decade, Liebknecht and his young disciple, Bebel, began to preach to the German laborer the ideas of Karl Marx, ideas differing in important respects from those of Lassalle. The latter's aims were idealistic, national and state socialistic; the socialism of Karl Marx was based on materialism, was international or cosmopolitan, and hostile to the existing state and to state socialism. In the seventies followers of Marx and Lassalle united to form the *Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei*, as the German Social Democratic Party was then called, and the first platform of the party, the Gotha Program, contains indications of a compromise between the two groups. As time passed, the doctrine of Marx became predominant. Marx, not Lassalle, is to-day the recognized

master of German socialists. Within the past few years, however, Marxism, as a theory and a political method, has entered upon a crisis that perhaps indicates its dissolution, while in the movement represented by Bernstein, the editor and biographer of Lassalle, but long known as a Marxist, there has come to the front a socialism that bears closer resemblance to that of Lassalle, than to that of Marx. Lassalle is not invoked as its leader; the cry "Back to Lassalle" has not been raised, but there is, nevertheless, a turning from Marxian materialism to idealism, from Marxian dislike of patriotism and the national spirit to an acknowledgment of the importance of national interests, from Marxian hatred of the present state to a recognition of what governments, as organized to-day, have done and can do for the laboring class.

The authoritative statement of the faith of the German Social Democratic Party is given in the Erfurt Program, adopted in 1891. Some of its most significant utterances may be here quoted :

"The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably (*mit Naturnotwendigkeit*) to the ruin of small industries, which are based on the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from the means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

"Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes . . . a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. To the proletariat and to the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasant proprietors, it brings an increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation.

"Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between bourgeoisie and proletariat which divides modern society into two hostile camps.

"Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production . . . into social ownership can effect such a

revolution that instead of large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have developed, they may become a source of the highest well being. . . .

"This social revolution involves the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat but of the whole human race. . . . But this emancipation can be achieved by the working class alone. . . .

"It must be the aim of social democracy to give conscious unanimity to this struggle of the working class and to indicate its inevitable goal (*naturnotwendiges Ziel*").

The view presented in the Program of present industrial society tending inevitably toward socialism is connected with Marx's "materialistic conception of history," a theory of social development which leaders of the Social Democratic Party apparently consider a necessary article of faith. The most complete and authoritative statement of this theory from the pen of Marx is that in the preface of his *Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, published in 1859. It is obscure and involved in expression and a rather free translation must be given:

"As producers, the members of industrial society enter into certain necessary relations to one another, relations independent of the human will and, in their totality, making up the economic structure of society. This economic structure corresponds to the stage of development reached by the productive forces (*Produktivkräfte*), and forms the basis for a legal and political superstructure. Corresponding to it is the mental life of society. (The manner of production for man's material life determines (*bedingt*) the social, political and mental life. It is not the mind of man that determines his life in society, but this life that determines mind. At a certain stage in their development the productive forces of society get into conflict with the existing economic structure, or, in other words, with the social organization based on property (the legal aspect of economic structure). Ceasing to be the channels within which the productive forces move freely, the economic structure and law of property become hindrances. Then ensues a period of social revolution. Corresponding to the revolution in the economic basis of society, there is a more or less rapid change of the entire superstructure. In the study of such revolutions we must always distinguish between the changes in the material conditions of production, which are the subject of scientific

observation, and the legal, political, religious, æsthetic and philosophical activities—the mental life—in which man becomes conscious of, and takes part in, this conflict. We do not in judging a man accept *his* opinion of himself. No more in the study of a social revolution ought our judgment to be based on men's opinions of it, but rather ought we to seek the explanation of the thoughts and feelings of those living in such a period in the contradictions of their material life, in the conflict between production and organization. A society never dies until all the productive forces which can find scope within it have reached their full development, and a new and higher form of social life cannot take its place until the material conditions of existence of the new society have been given birth by the old. . . . In broad outlines, we can trace the following periods of economic and social development: the oriental, the ancient, the feudal, the bourgeois. The bourgeois organization is the last *antagonistic* form of the productive process, antagonistic . . . in the sense of an antagonism growing out of the social and economic conditions of individuals. The productive forces growing up within the bourgeois society, however, are creating the material conditions for the solution of this antagonism."

We find in this passage, stated explicitly, a theory of social development basing all social life on economic factors. We find implied a theory of knowledge which regards man's mental activity as a reflection of physical conditions, and a monistic philosophy which denies freedom of will and looks upon human life, individual and social, as a part of nature and in a process of evolution. In the use of such terms as *contradiction* and *antagonism*, in the announcement of an antagonism created by forces within a given society and its solution by forces arising within the same society, there is an echo of the Hegelian dialectic. Hegel, as usually interpreted, regarded the world as an evolution of mind, in which thought in its development creates a contradiction within itself, but develops also a solution of the contradiction, a reconciliation of opposites in a higher unity—a process of logical evolution marked by the phases thesis—anti-thesis—synthesis. Marx saw only a material development, but this he was disposed to view as a dialectic process, a constant development of contradictions to be solved by some

synthesis. This leaning to the methods of the Hegelian dialectic distinguishes his theory from the modern idea of evolution. Applied to an interpretation of the present industrial system, it attains its greatest interest. It beholds the development of a contradiction in this system that will lead, with inevitable logic, to its own solution, to a "synthesis" in socialism.¹

Socialism is not advocated on moral grounds by Marxists. Why apply ethics to the course of nature? Socialism is as indifferent ethically and yet as certain as the rising and setting of the sun. Unable to meet the objections that may be urged against any conceivable collectivist régime, the Marxist might say, with a shrug of his shoulders: "It is coming, whether we like it or no. It is fate." He might choose not to exert himself for its realization, because it will come of itself. Such consistent inaction, however, is repugnant to the normal man, and gives no scope to political ambition. To the proletariat there would be at least an intellectual satisfaction, if not also a tactical advantage, in the consciousness of the inevitable part it is to play in the great historical drama. There is, to the joy of the Marxist, a class conflict. The contradictions within a society that compel its overthrow manifest themselves in a struggle between economic classes, and every great revolution in history appears as the work of some one class. The issue of the present struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat will be the triumph of the latter, the "dictatorship" (*Diktatur*) of the proletariat. It is not, however, until the contradictions of the present system have fully developed, not until capitalism has run its course, that the new order can take the place of the old. Hence the need of patience, and all the greater need because there is no ground of hope for any great improvement of the laborer's condition under the present

¹ This thought finds its clearest expression in the writings of Engels. See his *Dühring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*, 1878, and the chapters taken from that work and published under the title *Entwicklung des Sozialismus*. (English translation: *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, in Social Science Series.)

system. In fact it is a question whether, from the Marxian point of view, all attempts to improve the laborer's condition under the existing system ought not to meet the sternest opposition. Such partial reforms, it might be argued, weaken that antagonism within the present order that drives us on to socialism, and, in attempting to make conditions more tolerable, only prolong the agony and postpone the coming of the better order of society. This, apparently, not illogical conclusion has been drawn by some followers of Marx, but, to the leaders of a political party, such consistency is out of question. The laborers' vote is not won by opposing measures giving him some immediate relief, and the social democracy, a laboring man's party, has therefore given a prominent place to reforms in taxation and to factory legislation.

To the materialistic conception, sketched above, must be joined the theory of value and distribution developed in *Das Kapital* to obtain the complete Marxian creed. This creed is at the basis of the Erfurt Program, and may be regarded as more fundamental and authoritative for the Social Democratic Party than the Program itself. To the student of the history of thought it appears scarcely credible that a system so comprehensive as that of Karl Marx could maintain itself for a single generation except as an object of blind devotion. More than half a century, however, has passed since, in a time of political excitement and intensest mental activity, there came to the mind of Marx, in outline, the characteristic features of his system. For about forty years he and Friedrich Engels labored to extend and complete it. After the death of Marx in 1883, Engels continued alone the work until death, in 1895, removed him also from his still unfinished task. Whatever Marxism may have been in the minds of these co-operating thinkers, their followers certainly fell into confusion. The chief elements in the thought of Marx can be easily stated; it is the connection between them that presents difficulties.

It may be doubted whether Marx himself ever completely unified his thought. His followers certainly have proved unequal to the strain of holding together, in bonds of logic, the scattered ideas found in his works. Marxism as an historical phenomenon, as a general movement of thought and not as the opinions of an individual thinker, has been a group of loosely connected ideas of which first one and then another has been emphasized according to the exigencies of political controversy.

Increasing the confusion due to the difficulty of interpretation, is the insufficiency of the Marxian system in the face of new knowledge and changed conditions. Material that is now antiquated was built into it at the beginning. The intellectual atmosphere has undergone a change. Ricardo and Adam Smith, in the forties and fifties, still exercised such authority that the labor theory of value could be taken, almost without question, as one of the premises of economic reasoning. Hegelianism had not yet spent its force. Though largely rejected or given a materialistic turn, as by Feuerbach and Marx, it had yet entered so deeply into German thought as to be used unconsciously. To the German of the latter years of the nineteenth century it has become unintelligible. Among the younger Marxists the dialectic process, with its automatic movement, has been given up in favor of a theory of social evolution based on a conscious class struggle. The Hegelian lingo of Marx and Engels is still piously repeated, but it is little understood. Furthermore, the political atmosphere has changed. Marx's early manhood was spent in the midst of the agitation for constitutional reform of the forties, of the revolutionary excitement of 1848, and of the gloom that set in with the reaction of the years following '48. There settled into his thought a revolutionary spirit, a hatred of governments that does not appeal to the generation grown up since general manhood suffrage brought government under the power of popular opinion. Industrial conditions

also have changed, and that sufficiently to suggest a correction of several socialistic tenets.

Slowly, almost imperceptibly, the faith of the Social Democratic Party has been moving away from the earlier formulations. Orthodoxy is breaking down. Of this the declarations made by Eduard Bernstein and his sympathizers give the clearest evidence. There is not much that is altogether new in Bernstein's writings. Indeed the bitterness of the controversy his views have given rise to within the party is not easily explained. In part the intense interest may be due to the general recognition of Bernstein's ability and importance. He has been ranked with Kautsky and Conrad Schmidt among the ablest living leaders of German socialism, has enjoyed the friendship of Friedrich Engels, has contributed extensively to the social democratic press and edited the works of Lassalle, has written scholarly articles on the English labor movement, and has been identified with Marxism for twenty years or more. For a long period he was banished from Germany. These years of exile were spent in London, and probably broadened his views and saved him from a crabbed Marxist orthodoxy. Very recently he has received permission to return to Germany. In the years 1896 to 1898 he published in the *Neue Zeit*, under the title "*Probleme des Socialismus*," a series of articles criticising current interpretations of Marxian socialism. A lively discussion followed in socialistic circles. From what may be called the "Old School Marxists" his views met with sweeping disapproval. One writer, "Parvus," went so far as to remark in the *Sächsische Arbeiterzeitung*, that these views, if true, would mean the end of socialism. To bring matters to a head, it appears, Bernstein sent an address to the annual convention of the party held in Stuttgart, October, 1898. Further controversy followed, leading to the publication of Bernstein's *Voraussetzungen des Socialismus*, in the spring of 1899. Articles for and against his views then appeared in rapid succession in the *Neue Zeit* and in the

Socialistische Monatshefte.¹ Most conspicuous among the defenders of Old School Marxism is Karl Kautsky, whose little book, *Bernstein u. das Sozial demokratische Programm*, 1899, was published with the avowed hope of disposing of the annoying subject of Bernsteinism, and may be regarded as the ablest recent exposition and defence of the views attacked by Bernstein. In a collection entitled *Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*, Bernstein has republished some articles in reply to attacks on his *Voraussetzungen*. The latter work with some of the controversial papers in *Zur Geschichte u. Theorie des Socialismus*, may be taken as the ripest expression of his thought, and will be made the basis of the summary of his views given below.

The question, Is Bernstein a Marxist? will puzzle the reader of his works. In his departure from current interpretations of the faith he often appears anxious to lean on the authority of Marx and Engels. On other occasions he flatly contradicts Marx himself. He distinguishes between pure and applied theory. The former, consisting of propositions of general validity, constitutes the relatively permanent portions of a science. The latter, made up of applications of the general theory of a practical and detailed nature, is more subject to change. The pure theory of Marxism includes the materialistic philosophy of history (and implied in this the doctrine of class conflict), the theory of surplus value and of the tendencies of present industrial society. This careful distinction between pure and applied, permanent and variable, lead to the expectation that Bernstein, the old Marxist, would direct destructive criticism against the applied theory only. The pure theory of Marxism, however, receives corrections that amount to an abandonment of some of its fundamental propositions.

¹ The *Monatshefte* are the organ of the Bernstein socialists and may be considered the ablest and most scholarly of socialistic periodical publications.

II.

It will be convenient to begin the summary of Bernstein's views with the more theoretical portions of Marxism, taking up first the theory of value and surplus value. His discussion of this subject constitutes one of the least important and least satisfactory chapters in the *Voraussetzungen*. It shows keen thought, but reaches no very definite conclusions. In the third volume of *Das Kapital*, published in 1894, Marx declared market value equal to cost of production, the average rate of profit being one of the elements of cost. He appeared thus to have surrendered the labor theory of value, upon which the reasoning of the first two volumes was based, and which had become an article of faith to his followers. The third volume brought confusion into the Marxist camp as regards the theory of value, and Bernstein's skeptical attitude toward the Marxian treatment of this problem is not, therefore, especially significant. If commodities exchange in proportion to the cost of production what becomes of the view that the exchange takes place in proportion to the average, socially necessary labor time devoted to their production? Is the old labor theory of value to be regarded as a description of conditions existing prior to, or at the beginning of, the modern capitalistic period and projecting their influence into the period? This view, suggested in the third volume of *Das Kapital*, and later amplified and defended by Engels in an article in the *Neue Zeit*, Bernstein rejects. Or is the labor theory to be taken as a mere device of thought, a means of analysis and illustration employed to show the operation of exploitation and the rise of surplus value? The labor time used in the production of the total of commodities is, according to Marx's third volume, their social value. The excess of the total product over total wages gives us total social surplus. Marx, in assuming that a given commodity sells in proportion to its labor value, uses the given single instance to picture what takes place in pro-

duction as a whole and viewed collectively. So Bernstein interprets Marx, but admits that this surreptitious introduction of the concept of collective social production into the discussion of the existing system is rather arbitrary. The theory of labor value, he further states, is misleading in that it tempts us to take labor value as a measure of the exploitation of the laborer by the capitalist. It does not give a correct measure, even if we take society as a whole and place over against total wages the total of other forms of income. The theory also gives no measure of the justice or injustice of distribution. In taking justice into consideration Bernstein departs widely from the Marxian point of view. Marx held that the laborer does not receive the entire product of his labor, that he is being robbed. His socialism, however, was not a demand, made in the name of justice, but a forecast of the course of evolution.

In this chapter on the theory of value, it appears that Bernstein has knowledge of the Austrian theory of value and finds some truth in it. His attitude towards it aroused the ire of Karl Kautsky and perhaps not without reason. If the Austrian theory, through the attention called to it by Bernstein, gains adherents among socialists, it may go hard with the Marxian views of value and distribution. Bernstein, it may be remarked in this connection, unlike most socialists, is not unwilling to learn from the "bourgeois" economists and shows acquaintance with their works.

Before the appearance of the third volume of *Das Kapital*, a large part of economic literature conveyed the impression that the theory of surplus value was the essential element of Marxism. Since its appearance, and the confusion it has wrought in the views of German socialists on value, discussion is turning more about the materialistic conception of history, and this is regarded as par excellence Marx's contribution to socialistic thought. None will deny, says Bernstein, that the most fundamental part of Marxism is its theory of history. With it the whole system stands or falls.

To the extent that it is subjected to limitations all remaining portions are affected. Now the question as to the truth of the materialistic conception of history, he continues, is the question of the *degree of historical necessity*. According to materialism everything is the result of necessary movements of matter, everything is determined and a link in a chain of causation. The materialist is a Calvinist without God. Applied to history, materialism means the affirmation of the necessity of all history. The only question the materialist need consider is through what channels necessity takes its course, what part must be assigned to nature, what to economic factors, to legal institutions, or to man's ideas. Marx considers the productive forces and organization (*die materiellen Produktivkräfte u. Produktionsverhältnisse*) the determining factor. Engels, however, states that productive forces are only the *final* cause. The mental life also is a cause. "The political, legal, philosophic, religious, literary and artistic lines of development rest on the economic. But they all react on one another *and* on the economic" (Letter of Engels in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, October, 1895). The question at issue is to what extent non-economic factors control history. The economic are on the whole predominant, in Bernstein's opinion, but mental forces are controlling life to an increasing extent. As their power increases a change takes place in the sway of so-called historic necessity. On the one hand we have an increasing insight into the laws of development, and especially of economic development, and on the other, a resulting growth of ability to direct and control this development. Society has greater freedom theoretically with reference to economic factors than at any time before, and it is only a conflict of interests that prevents the practical realization of this theoretic freedom. However, the common, as opposed to private, interests, are gaining ground and, to that extent, economic forces cease to be elemental powers. Their development is anticipated and, therefore, takes place more readily and rapidly. Individuals and

nations are thus withdrawing an ever greater proportion of their life from the influence of a necessity acting without or against their volition. Necessity is less absolute. This view of history, which he regards as the developed form of Marx's thought, Bernstein names *economic* conception, in preference to *materialistic* conception. The Marxian theory of history, unlike philosophical materialism, he claims, does not involve determinism. It does not attribute to economic factors absolute power.

This view of Bernstein seems to rest on a misconception of the Marxian system of thought. Marx certainly was a determinist and Engels, while admitting that the economic factor is only final cause, did not intend to represent it as one of several co-ordinate causes, nor to deny necessity in the action of forces other than the economic. Bernstein in his *Voraussetzungen* looks at the immediate causes of historical phenomena only. These may indeed be predominantly mental or ideal rather than economic. Behind these, however, according to consistent Marxism, lie others, reaching back to the fundamental cause, the economic factor, the productive process. By lengthening the process of causation, by inserting mental forces in the chain that extends from the economic condition up to given historical phenomena, we do not diminish the "degree of necessity." The inserted mental forces themselves are determined. They are a part, not an interruption of, the chain of causation. It may be questioned, too, whether it is possible to conceive of *degrees* of necessity. In philosophy, Bernstein is clearly not a disciple of Marx. It may be stated, however, that he evades or overlooks the philosophic question, the problem of the ultimate principle. He is, in fact, not pre-eminently a philosopher. The fundamental issue between mental and economic forces, in the Marxian view of history, is not their relative weight as immediate causes of historical events, but the question of priority in the evolution of life. From the beginning of human life they have acted and developed side

by side. The question, therefore, is one of the origin and nature of mind. This problem of origin, however, is not one that Marxists have generally recognized as the fundamental one. Marx did not complete his system, and Engels only partially worked out a philosophic theory. Woltmann¹ appears to be the only recent social democratic writer who gives evidence of philosophical training and has attacked the fundamental problem. Claiming that Marx, the philosopher, is as great if not greater than Marx the economist, he aims to show what is necessary to the completion of his system.

In the confusion prevailing among the professed followers of Marx and in the mind of Bernstein, it is difficult to state precisely how widely the latter has diverged from the true Marxists in the field of philosophy. It is noteworthy, however, that he assigns greater importance to ethical ideals as forces in the socialistic movement than has been customary among German socialists. He appeals to justice. He urges the need of a moral elevation of the proletariat. His teachings, if they prevailed, would give a tone to social democratic agitation very different from that which it has received from Marx's almost contemptuous attitude towards ethical considerations. Bernstein's ethical idealism may rest on feeling rather than on a well-reasoned philosophy, or he may have found his way unconsciously into the current of a new philosophic movement. To place the bases of Marxism in the crucible of criticism, or to evolve new systems of thought will be the task of others who are better fitted, but whatever faith one may have in the mission of the philosopher and in the compelling power of logic, a man like Bernstein is certain to exert a more immediate and obvious influence on a political movement than a more profound and less popular thinker. Bernstein's idealistic tendencies, therefore, may yet prove to be of the greatest significance.

¹ *Der historische Materialismus. Darstellungen und Kritik der Marxistischen Weltanschauung*, 1900.

Passing now to problems of a less general and theoretic nature, the Marxian diagnosis of modern industrial tendencies with its affirmation of an irresistible movement toward socialism may be taken up first. According to Marx, Engels and the Erfurt Program, capitalism is doomed because capital, the means of appropriating the product of society, is falling into the hands of an ever smaller number of great capitalists, while the concentration of industry is effecting the organization of the constantly growing proportion of rebellious humanity that constitutes the proletariat. This Bernstein designates the theory of collapse, *die Zusammenbruchstheorie*. It implies that the middle classes are disappearing, the rich diminishing, and the poor growing in number. Closely related to it is the so-called *Verelendungstheorie*, the pauperization theory, which holds that the masses are sinking into ever deeper poverty. Bernstein's argument controverting the *Zusammenbruchstheorie* has proved especially unpalatable to the "old school." He argues first that capital is not falling into the hands of a diminishing number of capitalists. The corporate organization of production makes possible a wide diffusion of capital in the shape of stocks and bonds. Immense wealth in the ownership of a few capitalists is not necessary for the construction of large business units. Capital can be concentrated by bringing together the holdings of a large number of small stockholders. Control over, not ownership of, large capital is necessary to the captains of industry. Statistical data are incomplete, but show that the securities of the great "trusts" of to-day are scattered among a very considerable number of holders. More complete evidence that the propertied classes are not diminishing in number can be obtained from income tax statistics. Not only are the propertied classes not diminishing, Bernstein concludes, but they are increasing both absolutely and relatively.

The same conclusion can be reached deductively. Modern

methods of production have brought about an immense increase in the *per capita* product. It is not possible for a few capitalists and their families to consume all of this increase. Its consumption can be accounted for only on the assumption that it goes either to the proletariat or to the middle classes. It is the latter that in Bernstein's opinion, are receiving a larger share of the social dividend. If the proletariat, beguiled by Marxian predictions, expects to wait until the great capitalists have ruined the lesser ones before it expropriates the entire capitalist class, it must content itself to wait an indefinitely long time. But, says Bernstein, it is time to abandon the superstition that the realization of socialism depends on the concentration of capital in the ownership of a few. Whether the social surplus is appropriated by ten thousand monopolists, or is distributed in various amounts among half a million, is a matter of indifference to the great majority, the nine or ten million families who lose by the transaction.

The attack on the theory of collapse is continued by statistical evidence to show that industry is not becoming consolidated in large concerns at a very rapid rate. Although in an increasing number of industries production on a large scale is displacing the small producer, there is a considerable number of industries in which production on a small or medium scale is holding its own. Not all industries develop in the same manner, not all are destined soon to become centralized in a few immense organizations. Manufactures and commerce show a less rapid centralization than socialistic theorists have assumed. In agriculture in Europe, and in part in America, there is a movement directly counter to socialistic predictions. Large farms are decreasing in number, small and middle sized farms are increasing. It is not true, therefore, that a rapid centralization of production is gathering together as a wretched proletariat the great mass of humanity, organizing men as producers in large workshops and on large farms and making the expropriation of a

small group of capitalists and the collective management of the highly centralized economic system an easy and inevitable matter.

Somewhat vague expectations of a collapse of capitalism are, in the minds of German socialists, associated with industrial crises. These hasten the ruin of the small capitalist and the disappearance of the middle class. They are regarded as ominous indications of the impossibility of capitalism, of its inability to control its own productive forces. "The contradictions inherent in the movements of capitalist society," wrote Marx in 1873, "impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle through which modern industry runs and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although it is but yet in its preliminary stage."¹ The extension of the world's market, socialists are disposed to hold, merely increases the scope and intensity of the contradictions of capitalism. Engels states in one place that improved methods of transportation and the extension of the field open to investment of the excess of European capital have weakened the tendencies toward a crisis, but later remarks that all factors striving to prevent a repetition of former experiences are merely preparatory to a greater crash. The time between crises has lengthened, but the delay of the next crisis indicates the coming of a universal crash of unparalleled violence. Another possibility, however, admitted by Engels, is that the periodic appearance of acute distress will give way to a more chronic trouble, short periods of slight improvement in business being followed by long, indecisive periods of depression. In the years that have elapsed since Engels wrote, his expectations have not been fulfilled. There are no indications, remarks Bernstein, of the great catastrophe, nor can business prosperity be characterized as especially short-lived. There is a third possibility. The extension of the market, the increasing

¹ Preface Second Edition of *Das Kapital*.

facility of transportation and communication, may equalize or diffuse disturbances, while the increased wealth of industrial countries, the greater elasticity of credit, and the action of trusts may diminish the action of local and special disturbances on the general course of industry. General crises in that case need not be expected for years to come. Reckless speculation is less certain to make trouble now than in the past. Speculation is determined by the proportion of knowable to unknowable factors. It is most dangerously active when the unknown plays a large part, as at the beginning of the capitalistic era, in new countries, and in new industries. The older the use of modern methods in any industry the weaker is the speculative element. The movements of the market are better known, its changes more accurately estimated. Of course, competition and the possible appearance of inventions preclude an absolute control of the market and, in some degree, overproduction is inevitable. Overproduction in a few industries is, however, not synonymous with general crisis. To lead to a general crisis the industries immediately affected must be such large consumers of the products of other industries that their suspension causes a wide-spread stoppage, or the effect on the money market must be such as to result in a general paralysis of business. It stands to reason, however, that the greater the wealth of a country and the stronger its organization of credit, the less is the likelihood of disturbances in a few industries bringing about a general crisis. Bernstein concludes in regard to the possibility of avoiding crises that the problem cannot be solved at present. We can only point to what forces tend toward a break down, and what forces tend to prevent it. What the resultant will be we do not know. Local and partial depressions are inevitable. Unforeseen external factors, such as wars or an unusually widespread failure of crops, may cause a universal industrial crisis, but, aside from such possibilities, there is no conclusive reason for expecting a general stoppage of the

world's industry. Socialists need base no hopes upon a universal crash.

A condition precedent to the accomplishment of socialism, according to German socialists, is the crushing out of the small manufacturer and farmer and the centralization of industry. This is to be the mission of capitalism. Capitalists, in short, are to organize production and then to be turned out by the proletariat. The latter is to gain control of the government while the work of the capitalistic consolidation is still proceeding. As, however, the centralization of production is taking place rather slowly, Bernstein argues, it will be a long time ere the government can undertake the management of all industry. It could not deal with the enormous number of small and middle-sized producing concerns. The proletarian state would, therefore, be obliged to leave their management in the hands of their present capitalist owners, or, if it insisted on turning these out, to entrust all productive concerns to co-operative organizations of laborers. It is mainly through the gradual extension of co-operation, not through the assumption of direct control of all production by a central political power, that Bernstein expects to see the socialist's ideal fulfilled. In this he departs widely from Marx and the old-school social democrats. If socialism is to be the work of the co-operative movement it will be long in coming. Productive co-operation, Bernstein points out in an especially interesting chapter, has made but slow progress. Distributive co-operation has been successful. Socialists have not generally been very eager advocates of such organizations of buyers. Bernstein, however, holds that their work is well worth doing. They serve to retain in the hands of the laboring class a considerable portion of the social dividend that otherwise would be diverted to the middleman's profit and would thus strengthen the position of the propertied classes. The large profits gained by such organizations in England show that the socialistic doctrine that the laborer is exploited

as producer rather than as consumer must suffer considerable limitation. Productive co-operation has achieved less. The larger concerns that have tried it usually failed to secure able leadership and discipline among the workers. Democracy in the workshop is a failure when the scale of operation is large. The idea that the modern factory trains the laborer for co-operative work is erroneous. The most successful co-operative producing concerns are those that are financed by some trades union or some organization of consumers and thus are producing, not primarily for the profit of their own employees, but for some larger body, of which their employees are, or may become, members. It is by such combination, with distributive co-operation, that productive co-operation may yet prove its feasibility. It has a future, but necessarily its development will be slow. In agriculture the problem of making the laborers capitalists and of organizing them as a democracy of co-operating producers is especially difficult, and yet it is a problem the Social Democratic Party cannot afford to neglect.

The first condition upon which, in the Marxian program, the realization of collectivism depends is the centralization of industry. A second condition is the seizure of the supreme political power by the proletariat. This step may be taken by legal means or by violence. Marx and Engels, until late in life, were disposed to think that some violent measures would be necessary. There are socialists who are still of this opinion. Violence is, at least, often declared to do quicker work. The thought that the laboring class is numerically the strongest easily suggests that it can force itself into power and at once effect a radical change. Those who derive no income from property or privilege constitute indeed the majority in all advanced countries, but this "proletariat," Bernstein points out, consists of very diverse elements. They may, under the existing system, have common or similar interests, but, if the present propertied

and ruling classes were once deposed, differences in interests would soon appear. The modern wage-earners are not the homogeneous mass suggested by Marxian phraseology. In the most advanced industrial centres especially there exists the greatest differentiation. Diversity of occupation and income result in diversity of character. Even if the industrial workers were not thus broken up into groups of differing interests, there are other dissimilar classes, such as public officials, commercial employees and agricultural laborers. The employees of factories and house industries constitute in Germany less than half of those engaged in earning a livelihood. The remaining classes include the greatest social contrasts. In the rural districts there is no evidence of a class consciousness or of a class struggle such as that waged by the organized factory laborer with his capitalist employer. To the majority of agricultural laborers socialization of production can be little more than an unmeaning phrase. Their cherished hope is to become landowners. Even among factory workers the desire for collectivism is not universal. There has been a steady increase of votes cast for the Social Democratic Party, but not all of these voters are socialists. In Germany, the country in which the party has made its greatest advance, social democratic voters number somewhat less than half of the industrial workers. Over one-half, therefore, of this class are indifferent or hostile to socialism. It is still a far cry to the day predicted by Marx and Engels when a united proletariat, conscious of its mission, deposes the few capitalists still remaining, and inaugurates an era in which there shall be no classes and no class wars.

To exercise the hoped for "dictatorship," the proletariat, Bernstein holds, is not yet sufficiently matured. Unless workingmen themselves have developed strong economic organizations, and through training in self-governing bodies have attained a high degree of self-reliance, the rule of the proletariat would be the rule of petty orators and litterateurs.

There is a cant in regard to the virtues and possibilities of the laborer against which Bernstein earnestly protests. Socialistic hackwriters and demagogues have given a thoroughly false picture of the class. The workingman is neither the pauperized wreck some socialistic phrases depict, nor, on the other hand, is he completely free from prejudices and foibles. He has the virtues and vices incident to his economic and social position. These cannot change in a day. The most sweeping revolution can raise the general level of a nation only a little. Economic conditions enter into consideration. Engels confesses that not until what would to-day be considered a very high development of productive capacity has been reached, can the total product be so large that the abolition of classes would not result disastrously. Meanwhile, Bernstein urges, the proletariat needs to cherish the homely virtues of thrift and industry. The cheap contempt for what they style "the bourgeois virtues" affected by socialist litterateurs is fortunately not entertained by the leaders of the trades union and co-operative movements. For these organizations the shiftless, homeless proletarian is poor material. It is not surprising that in England so many labor leaders, whether socialists or not, favor the temperance movement. Everything tending to confuse the moral sense of the worker is an injury to the cause of labor. It is deplorable, therefore, that part of the labor press affects the tone of the literary decadents. A class that is striving to rise needs a vigorous morality, not cynicism. The proletariat needs an ideal. The view that material factors are omnipotent, that they alone can lead to a better social order, is false.

Democracy is both means and end of the socialistic movement—industrial democracy in the trades union and co-operative movement, and political democracy, through legislation, aiming to realize the same ideals. Democracy, Bernstein states, implies the absence of class oppression. It is not the tyranny of the proletariat mob over other classes. The fears

of its revolutionary tendencies felt by conservatives prove to be groundless as democracy develops. It is only at the beginning of democratic movements that conservatives are chilled and radicals cheered by visions of blood and flame. The majority will not oppress the minority, because the majority of to-day may be the minority of to-morrow. Nor can democracy perform miracles of rapid reform. Kings and ministers of state have often moved faster than the governments of the most democratic countries. The latter have the advantage of not being subject to reaction. They go steadily, though often very slowly, forward in the direction of the ideal. Much already has been accomplished. The material condition of the laboring class has been improved. Exploitation on the part of the capitalist is being checked. Class privileges are being abolished. The proletarian is made a citizen and gradually raised to the level of the bourgeois. There is a great movement that is reconstructing society and realizing socialistic ideals as they become practicable. This movement, in Bernstein's mind, ought to be the chief care of the socialist. The collectivist goal is in comparison a matter of indifference.

The Social Democratic Party ought not needlessly to antagonize classes other than the proletariat. The opposition of these classes would delay the achievement of that political democracy that must precede the realization of social democracy. Germany is not yet democratic in the political sense. Some socialists would object that German institutions cannot be reformed except through violence, inasmuch as the German bourgeoisie is growing more reactionary. For the time being this may be the case, although there are many facts pointing to the contrary view. It cannot long continue to be true. What is called the bourgeoisie is of a composite character. Its diverse elements can be fused into a reactionary mass only through their fear of social democracy as their common enemy. Some bourgeois behold in the socialistic party a menace to their material

welfare, others an enemy to religion, others still oppose it on patriotic grounds as the party of revolution. Such fears ought not to exist. The leaders of the social democracy ought to make it plain that it does not menace all and that it has no fondness for violent measures. Many of the bourgeoisie feel an economic pressure that might lead them to make common cause with the working class, but they are repelled by violent utterances.

Let the Social Democratic Party, Bernstein urges, appear in its true colors as a party of socialistic reform. Let it discard its revolutionary phraseology. Let it be consistent. Its efforts for immediate and partial reforms are not consistent with the expectation of a great smashing of the present industrial order. Socialism will not come all in a moment amidst scenes of horror. There will be no sudden rising of enslaved masses against a handful of capitalist tyrants. If such were in truth to be the coming of socialism, it would be folly for the party not to promote in every way the accumulation of capital and power in the hands of the few instead of proposing the exact reverse, as it does, for example, in its policy regarding taxation. Socialism, however, will be attained gradually; its blessings will not be withheld from mankind until the great day of the wrath of the proletariat. Whatever its *cant* may indicate, the party is to-day a party of reform, not of revolution. Recent occurrences prove this. Bebel, one of the old school, with reference to recent anarchistic plots, protested earnestly against the idea that the party approved of violence. All the party papers quoted approvingly. Not one dissented. Kautsky, also of the old school, makes suggestions, in his work on the agrarian question, that are entirely in the direction of democratic reforms. The municipal program adopted by social democrats at Brandenburg is one of democratic reform. The representatives of the party in the Reichstag have expressed themselves in favor of boards of arbitration as a means of securing industrial peace. In Stuttgart social democrats

joined with a bourgeois democratic group to form a fusion ticket. In other towns in Württemberg their example has been followed. Socialistic trades unions are advocating the establishment of municipal employment bureaus representing employer and employee. In several cities, Hamburg and Elberfeld for instance, socialists and trades unionists have formed societies for co-operative distribution. Everywhere it is a movement for reform, for democracy, for social progress.

Bernstein is opposed to the anti-national attitude of his party. The oft-quoted statement of the Communistic Manifesto that the proletarian has no fatherland he declares to be false. It may have been true of the proletarian of the forties who was without political rights, it is not true of the workingman of to-day. There are national interests, the importance of which, in his enthusiasm for a cosmopolitan labor movement, the socialist should not disregard. If the Social Democratic Party gets into power it will need a foreign policy. The party rightly objects to the irresponsibility of the executive in foreign affairs. It is in favor of international arbitration; but it ought not to sacrifice national interests. Germany, for instance, has interests in China and should be in a position to defend them. In an article in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, it may be added, Bernstein gives a qualified approval to a policy of expansion, even conceding under certain circumstances a right of conquest.

III.

From the above summary of Bernstein's views it appears that he is not an orthodox Marxist. He is still a socialist and, in a sense, a believer in the class conflict, although hoping that in the future this conflict will be waged with less bitterness and always by legal means. He cannot be called the originator of an entirely new movement within the Social Democratic Party. In rejecting materialism he was preceded by Konrad Schmidt (in *Sozialistischer Akademiker*, 1896),

the first apparently among German Marxists to urge a return to a Kantian standpoint in philosophy, a movement that now has a respectable following among German socialists.¹ The pauperization theory received severe criticism from *Bruno Schönlank* a few years ago, and seems at best to have had only a weak hold on the better informed members of the party. In his protests against violence Bernstein has many predecessors, among them Engels and, in a degree, Marx himself. That agriculture was not fully bearing out Marxian predictions in regard to centralization of production, and that special tactics were necessary in agitating for socialism in the rural districts, had not altogether escaped the notice of the party leaders. In urging a conciliatory policy towards classes other than the proletariat and towards other political parties, Bernstein had the example of Georg von Vollmar, leader of the Bavarian socialists. In fact, the "compromise" or "opportunist" policy, the policy of temporary coalitions with other parties, has of late been seriously agitated in the leading countries of the continent. It is of course bitterly opposed by the grim, old agitators of the class conflict. In Belgium, however, socialists have combined with liberals against clericals; in France the socialist Millerand is a member of the cabinet under a "bourgeois" government; in Austria social democrats and liberals have together been trying to hold back Christian social conservatives, and in Bavaria, social democrats have combined with the Catholic party against so-called liberals. A change is taking place in the attitude of European socialists. Socialistic parties are no longer so exclusively the champions of the proletariat, nor the irreconcilable enemies of other classes and parties. Meanwhile misgivings in regard to doctrinal matters are appearing even among the Marx-ridden socialists of Germany, and almost every tenet of the social democratic faith has suffered some limitation.

Why then did Bernstein's calm and scholarly articles call

¹ Woltmann, above mentioned, also takes a "Neo-Kantian" view.

forth such bitter attacks? His only important addition to the heresies troubling the "old" school was the demonstration of the persistence of the middle class. In this there was nothing new, of course, to the bourgeois economists. To Marxists it was perhaps a disagreeable novelty. The bitterness of the controversy arouses the suspicion that personal rivalries among leaders and would-be leaders have envenomed the discussion. Much also may be due to the fact that Marxism is to many a religion, an object of faith, in whose defence they will fight. Bernstein representing the scientific, critical spirit, naturally arouses their anger. The controversy grows out of differences of temperament. The two schools, the old and the new, the grim, old irreconcilables, Kautsky, Liebknecht, Bebel, on the one hand, and the more modern and practical Bernstein, Vollmer, David, Heine, Auer, and Schippel on the other, are affected differently by current political and industrial events. The Kaiser's speeches and the blunders of the government are enough to keep an irascible nature like Kautsky's stirred to constant fury against government and bourgeoisie. At the time the controversy arose the government's ill-advised attempt to secure Draconian legislation against criticism of religion, monarchy, the family and private property, was still being discussed. Kautsky sees in such attempts proof of the incurably reactionary character of the present government and ruling classes. Bernstein regards them as merely a passing phase, a bubble floating on the great current setting towards democracy. Kautsky cannot reconcile himself to the admission into the Social Democratic Party of elements other than the proletariat. Writing in the *Neue Zeit*, just before the party convention of 1899, he pointed to two tendencies within the party, the proletarian and the democratic. The approaching convention, he maintained, would have to choose between them. If the democratic tendency for which Bernstein stood prevailed, the proletariat, although still occupying the leading position, would not be carrying out an independent class

policy, and a split would soon appear in the party. At about the same time, an article by Bernstein appeared in the *Vorwärts*, in which he proposed to change the clause in the Erfurt Program stating that socialism can be brought about only by the proletariat (*kann nur das Werk der Arbeiterklasse sein*) to *must be mainly* the task of the proletariat (*muss in erster Linie, etc.*).

The question to which Kautsky expected a definitive answer at the convention received but an ambiguous reply. Resolutions brought in by Bebel, adopted by the convention, and subscribed by Bernstein and his followers, permit coalitions with other political parties on special occasions. They also declare that the party maintains a neutral attitude towards the co-operative movement, but attributes no great importance to it. These are concessions to the Bernstein wing. This group desired more, no doubt, but, in any case, the resolutions are as far removed from Marxism as from Bernsteinism. Bebel declared himself pleased that by subscribing to the resolutions the erring Bernstein had returned to the fold. That the old leaders of the party, however, had yielded somewhat to the new movement is revealed by the action of a few extreme Marxists who refused their assent to the resolutions.

Recent events and present tendencies give some ground for the expectation that social democracy on the Continent will become a democratic rather than a purely proletarian movement. If such proves to be the case, if the party no longer represents one class, it must become moderate and lay less stress on class war. Then, perhaps, as some have suggested, the most bitter outbreaks of class conflict will take place, not in the political arena, but in the struggle between trades union and employer. With strong social reform parties representing the common people in local and national politics, and with vigorous trades unions and co-operative societies, the social movement on the Continent may come to resemble more closely than before that of the great Eng-

lish-speaking democracies. In any case, the practical tone of English socialists, of the French possibilists, and the Bernstein wing of the German social democracy, indicates that the best talent in the service of the socialistic cause to-day is opposed to violence and to class hatred, and is comparatively moderate in its expectations and methods.

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THE PROFITS AND VOLUME OF CAPITAL.

Are the profits of capital regulated by natural law, and what determines the volume of capital in a country? Why are the profits of capital greatest among people the least civilized, and why greater in new countries than in old? What prevents the gains from compound interest absorbing again and again the wealth of the world? And lastly, should the land and franchise values of a country be included in its stock of capital? The purpose of this paper is the attempt to answer these questions and to apply some of the conclusions to present day problems.

Three terms require definition and consideration—nature, man, and that which man makes from nature. Nature and her powers may be called land. Man's activities may be designated labor. Labor applied to land produces capital.¹ In reasoning concerning these elements they must be kept separate, and their products distinct. Rent arises from the use of land. Wages proceeds from labor. Profits (or interest) accrues to the owner from the use of capital.

Rent is that marginal product attributable to location on the earth's surface. It is a free gift of nature or of the "indestructible properties of the soil." Wages are the product resulting from man's activities, whether mental, moral or physical. Profits, or interest, is a product attributable to capital as certainly as rent is the product derived from land and wages from labor.

¹ The author of this paper reached his conclusions concerning the theory of interest and capital here presented, and had partly written the manuscript of the paper before he saw Professor Clark's "Theory of Distribution." Mr. Sawin states that "as far as I know I am not under obligations to the work of Clark."—THE EDITOR.

² Karl Knies in "Das Geld," p. 47, defines the capital of a community as its available stock of goods (whether for consumption, acquisition or production) which may be applied to satisfying wants in the future. "Capital is an immediate product of nature and labor, nothing more."—*Böhm-Bawerk* in "Positive Theory of Capital."

Capital means either the concrete objects that man has made for his gratification, or the "value" instead of "volume" of exchangeable commodities, the second meaning always having reference to a ratio of exchange. In the first sense, a ship is the same capital the day it loads its first cargo as it is the day it discharges its last cargo. In the second sense, it may be a capital of half a million dollars the first day, whereas on the last day its capital is its value as junk. Concrete capital is objective. It remains the same from the day it is made to the day it is discarded as of no more use. Value capital is subjective, springing entirely from the mind of man as shown in his desire to exchange his products or supply his needs. Its value is infinite if it is the crust of bread that saves a life, although the crust might have been thrown away by another for whom it had no value. A thing may be worth a million dollars one day, the next day be worthless because something better has been invented to take its place. The use of one term to cover two entirely different conceptions has prevented right conclusions in economic research; and it is only by keeping apart these two forms, and tracing the laws governing each separately that one can avoid current economic confusion and answer the questions just propounded.

Concrete capital, the simplest form, is the first in historic development and furnishes the basis of the second concept. Its most notable characteristic is its perishability. It is constantly turning back to nature, and varies in endurance from that possessed by foods, by clothing, by implements, by buildings, and by coined money, which is, probably, the most durable of useful capital. Nothing man can make endures forever.

In order to study the characteristics of concrete capital, observe its functions, and deduce the laws governing its profits and volume, it will be well to choose an article for illustration the use of which is not influenced by the factor rent. We will assume also that when the article is once

made, no repairs will be put upon it, since that would introduce fresh capital, and confuse the reasoning. In order to obviate the interference which invention makes with economic adjustment it will furthermore be assumed that the same kind of article will be used without improvement during man's passage from savagery to civilization. We will first study the functions of the single article during its term of usefulness, then include the human factor and see why and to what extent man will increase the number of such articles. By correctly analyzing simple conditions, we may correctly judge of the complex ones of to-day, and feel a confidence in our final conclusions.¹

Let it be assumed that in an Indian village one man conceives the idea of making, from wild hemp, a net to aid him in fishing, nets not having previously been used by his tribe. After he has made the net he finds that he can catch one hundred fish with the effort previously used to catch ten. Obviously ten fish is still his wages as before and ninety fish is the gross profit of his net. He will not let another use it except he receives ninety fish in payment as it would earn him that much if he used it himself. As long as the capital in nets is restricted to one, his wages will remain ten fish and ninety fish will be the gross profits derived from the net. If the ownership passes to another person the division of the results between profits and wages will remain the same.

It may now be assumed that the net would last five years, and that it would depreciate in quality at a uniform rate. The beginning of the second year the user could catch only eighty fish instead of one hundred, the gross profits having shrunk to seventy fish. The beginning of the third year he could catch but sixty, and his gross profits would be fifty. At the beginning of the fifth year he can catch but twenty, with a gross profit of ten fish; and nearing the end of the

¹ "In dealing with complex problems of an advancing economy, the key to success is the separate study of the static forces that constantly act within it."—J. B. Clark in his *"Distribution of Wealth,"* p. 61.

first six months of the year he can catch only eleven, but he will still use the net, for without it he can catch but ten. At the beginning of the seventh month of the fifth year there will be no advantage derived from the use of the net. The owner may use it, but if he does, he will quit when it fails to catch him ten fish; the net having then passed beyond the margin of use. The margin of use is the initial point in the law governing the profits of capital.

The margin of use of capital is perfectly analogous to the margin of cultivation in the law governing the rent of land. The fishing net might be used till near the end of the five years, when it could catch but one fish; likewise land could be cultivated to the desert's edge and yield practically nothing; but such land would be beyond the margin of cultivation, as such net would be beyond the margin of use of capital.

When the gross profits of the new net are seen to be great, other nets will be made; but the gross profits of each net will be the excess of what could be caught without its use until the wants of the tribe for fish can be entirely supplied by fish caught by nets. After this, as nets increase in number, the margin of their use—the marginal nets—will be determined in another manner, viz: by the necessities of the tribe for fish. Four-year-old nets that catch twenty fish will be for a time the poorest ones that it will be necessary to use. They will be on the margin of use, and wages will have risen to twenty fish, the increase of ten fish being accountable to the increased use of nets. The number of nets may now increase until a net more than three years old will be discarded as not needed. As they are on the margin of use furnishing no profit, their catch of forty fish will be the wages of all those engaged in fishing, and all above forty fish that other nets can catch will be gross profits.

The law of marginal capital may be stated as follows: capital on the margin of use is the least productive capital—the poorest capital that the needs of society forces produc-

tion to make use of. (The margin of cultivation of land is that land the poorest in use to which the needs of society force production.)

The growth of capital as governed or influenced by man's nature may be traced as follows: the great positive deterrent to the accumulation of capital, either as an aid to production or for direct enjoyment, is the shortness and uncertainty of life. To accumulate capital requires labor in excess of that necessary for present needs, and in man's nature there will always be a reluctance to labor when there are uncertainties of enjoying the fruits of it. Although this feeling is modified by a desire to accumulate something for old age, also to provide for family dependents, the great body of humanity is dominated by a stronger impulse to enjoy capital than to replace it.

There are two other reasons why profits are required of capital, the failure to properly judge future wants, and the lack of will-power to enforce judgments.¹ With uncivilized man these are the main causes why large profits are insisted upon; but these causes decrease as man becomes civilized, and will disappear should he become strictly economic. In this may be seen the explanation of the large profits of capital in lower civilizations. The interest rate in old countries is a measure of their progress.

The term "gross profits" requires examination. As it has cost labor to make a net, something must evidently be deducted from the gross profits that will be equivalent at the time the net is discarded to the labor employed in making it; or as business men would say, it must provide a sinking fund to replace itself when worn out. It will be observed that as the margin of use of capital rises, this sinking fund must be a larger proportion of the gross profits; as we have seen, wages have risen and therefore the cost of making has

¹ Read Böhm Bawerk's "*Positive Theory of Capital*," p. 254; Professor Smart's translation for somewhat similar views, and to whom the writer acknowledges obligation.

been increased; at the same time the period of usefulness of the article has been shortened.

If at the end of two years the total profits of a net will exactly pay for the cost of making a new one, the point of the reproduction of capital from its earnings has been reached. If the needs of society force the production of fish no further than those caught with two-year-old nets, profits, or interest on capital in nets, will have disappeared; for wages will have risen to sixty fish, and all above that caught by the nets will but pay for the cost of making new ones. It is conceivable that nets might be so plentiful that those more than a year old could be dispensed with, but we see that the total profits in this case would be much less than the cost of making the nets. Eighty fish would be the wages of labor, the total catch of one-year-old nets, while it would require all the fish above sixty that could be caught for two years to pay for the nets.

The natural limit to the production of capital has now been determined. It is the point of the reproduction of capital from its earnings, as modified by the nature of man in considering the shortness and uncertainties of life, and his poor judgments of his future needs and weak will in executing them.

It will be profitable to make some experimental applications of the principles laid down. If all the profits of capital go to reproducing capital, leaving all wages and all rent to go to other purposes, the volume of capital will quickly grow to the point of the complete reproduction of capital. It cannot go above it, as the waste from discarding capital too soon will send it down again. It cannot stay below it, as the net profits of capital longer used (necessitating lower wages) will quickly raise the volume again. If the volume of capital is stationary all the net profits of capital are being absorbed in consumption. If the volume of capital is growing the net profits, less the net growth, gives the amount absorbed in consumption.

If the net profits of any capital, however small, be constantly turned to the reproduction of more capital, time alone is required to bring all capital to the reproductive point; *i. e.*, such sum of capital will itself absorb the wealth of the world. It is the partial application of this principle that has brought to its present magnitude the great Rothschild fortune and is producing in our own country the billion-dollar trusts.

In a strictly economic society, and after the volume of capital has adjusted itself, every improvement in machinery increases wages through the rise in the margin of use, due to the increased product. We may know this, but we cannot measure its amount and determine its permanency until we ascertain its effects upon the volume of consumption, and how it will affect the numbers of population. If consumption remain the same as before the total increase goes to wages. An increased consumption means a relatively less increase in wages. If consumption increases in the same proportion as increased product (it cannot go above it) wages cannot rise from this factor. If population remains the same the whole increase will go to wages. If population rises relatively with increased product (it cannot go above it) the rise in wages will be proportionately less. The actual change will be a composite resulting from these two effects.

A large part, possibly 90 per cent or more, of present wages was originally the profits of capital, but upon the increase of capital it has gone to wages by the rise in the margin of use. To realize this it is but necessary to imagine what the effect upon labor would be were the results of past labor to be suddenly destroyed.

If this analysis of capital is correct there is no "surplus value," as Karl Marx supposed, and no exploitation of labor in the way the Socialist would have us believe. The analysis reveals, however, a scientific reason for the socializing of capital. The life of the individual is short and uncertain. This justifies him, in any situation in which he may find

himself, to demand a surplus profit on any capital he may wish to accumulate; for if capital is at the reproductive point, and yields no interest, his income from wages alone would be as much as if he owned a million dollars' worth of capital also. The life of the nation being so nearly perpetual when measured by individual life the nation could, without violating economic law, maintain the volume of capital at the reproductive point. The individual's ignorance of his needs, and his lack of will privately to maintain the requisite supply of capital, would be rectified by the greater knowledge and power of the state. This, however, is but one side of the account. It must be balanced by a public civil service as perfect and economical as private employment and a public honesty equal to private honesty. These two things having been secured the socializing of capital may properly be considered. Public ownership could then accomplish more than private ownership.

The value form of capital is of a more complex nature. Its simplest manifestation is in the exchange of "consumption goods." The normal static value of these is their labor cost of production from land on the margin of cultivation with capital on the margin of use. It being, however, impossible to forejudge the volume of production, because as the result of favorable or unfavorable seasons, the ignorance of what others are doing to supply the demand, or the changes of fashion in consumption, the market price will fluctuate with approximate equality above and below the cost line.

If the world's wheat crop is large in any year the total wheat values for that season may be less than they would have been with a two-thirds crop. To capture these additional values, it is said, whole cargoes of spices have been dumped overboard at sea, the owners, controlling the total output, having bought at prices governed by large supply. Trusts are not a disadvantage to the public because they produce cheaply, but because, by controlling the output,

they can limit production and thereby extort scarcity values. These acts being anti-economic are immoral, and should be made criminal. Since the evils of monopoly arise from the private ownership of natural elements, the simple remedy is the public ownership of those elements, thereby allowing free enterprise and the most abundant production.

The normal static value of "tools of production" when new is the same as that for consumption goods, and in addition to this it must agree with their future earning power, discounted in proportion to their productive qualities during their term of usefulness. When tools cease to be new the cost rule ceases to apply and their earning power governs their value. The value of a locomotive or a mill will be its future earning power, discounted for the waiting; but when they are new this value must also equal their cost of production, otherwise they would not have been made.

Coined money is a tool that on first thought appears to be value capital, but it belongs to the concrete variety. Its value, in the long run, is its labor cost of production at marginal mines by the use of marginal machinery. It is perishable in that it is always liable to be lost in handling and by abrasion. A hammer or a shovel may be employed for a dozen useful purposes, but a coin can perform but two uses, act as a common measure of value or effect exchanges. The value of all other things, being measured by the value of the coin unit, makes the coin appear as value capital, when in fact it is concrete capital. Being used as the tool that facilitates almost innumerable exchanges, the coin and its representatives conveniently assume the minute subdivisions necessary to do the work in the most economical manner. As the tools of railroad construction are accumulated where railroads are being built, so the tools of exchange are accumulated where there is the most use for them, as in the markets of great cities.

This discussion has now reached the point where "interest" may properly be defined. When the net profits of

capital are spoken of as bearing a certain ratio to the parent capital, computed for a definite time, the ratio is properly expressed decimally as a certain per cent of interest. The term interest always presupposes the comparing of two quantities for a period of time. The value of concrete capital, sinking as its future earning power decreases, makes the interest of value capital approximately the same in the same market. The time element in the profits of capital has a negative side as well as a positive one. The positive side we may express in this way: time is necessary for the profits of capital to show themselves. Negatively, we may say: time, together with wear, destroys all capital.

"Capital" is used here with a more comprehensive meaning than economists generally give it, but the term, nevertheless, has a relatively restricted scope. Capital springs only from labor (man's activities) applied to land (nature's gifts). Furthermore, a thing to exist at some future time only, cannot be said to exist to-day. We recognize this truth in the homely caution, "Don't count your chickens before they're hatched." It is a true axiom that "Like things only can be measured by like."

When a man had the power to take for his own use the surplus earnings of another, he could sell that power and its value was computed in the way we now compute the value of a tool—*i. e.*, the value was the probable future net earning power discounted by the owner to recompense him for waiting for the enjoyment of the product of his slave's labor. The slave might be worth \$2,000; or, if he had been taught a trade, \$4,000. A slave-owner shipwrecked and naked on a desert island with ten companions, his slaves, in the same situation as himself, and about to be rescued by a passing ship, might be worth \$40,000 and have all his "capital" according to the old idea, with him. Labor applied to land did not make his slaves, and could not, therefore, be capital according to our ethical conception of the term. The product of the slave's labor must exist before it can be called

capital. Man's power over another cannot be measured in shovels or axes, wheat or dollars. An advance in ethics was made, a great moral idea prevailed; "capital" in slaves was destroyed.

A parent educates his son to follow successfully a very profitable trade or profession. His proficiency is not capital; it is himself. He is a more perfect man than he would otherwise have been or than his early uneducated playmate is. No labor has been spent on land. If he does something that his ignorant mate could do equally well, it is of no more value than if the other had done it. Knowledge cannot be compared with plows or hoes; but only with ignorance. Developing man's latent powers is not producing capital; it is making the man.

A patent is a grant of power, by government, giving a monopoly of the making of an article to presumably the first inventor or his representatives. The plan of the article is not a product of land, but of the inventor's mind. To become capital it must first become embodied in material. The idea may have a value but it is not a thing. The granting of one power by government can only compare with the granting of other powers by government. However wise or unwise the grant of a patent may be, it is only the power to transfer wealth from the slower-minded to a fortunately quicker-minded one. The people might possibly be better served by directly rewarding inventors from the public treasury, and granting no monopoly to any one.

A man of business builds up, by fair dealing and progressive methods, a valuable reputation for his firm. The advantage he derives thereby is not the profits of his capital, but the wages of his labor. It is his pay for the exercise of his moral qualities of honesty and enterprise. Enterprise can be compared only with the lack of it, and honesty with dishonesty.

A railroad furnishes transportation facilities for a certain section of country. With its building goes a natural monopoly of the freight and passenger service of its territory. No

other road, unless for speculative purposes, will be built if one is sufficient to do the business, for a competitor would only divide the traffic and might reduce the rates. A reduction in rates might be an economic loss to the owners. A division of the traffic might be to the disadvantage both of the owners and the public. The maintenance of two roads where one was sufficient could not be otherwise than an economic loss—both in the building and in the operating. The rates, it will be seen, representing the profits of capital, are not governed by the laws that regulate the profits and volume of capital, but by that of "all the traffic will bear." This may be in extreme instances several times the normal profits on the labor spent in construction and maintenance. This monopoly power, allowing a higher than the normal rate of interest, is the foundation for the issuance of watered stock, so prominent a feature in all private corporations performing public functions through natural monopolies, also of those performing private functions through the private ownership of natural elements.

Is watered stock capital? It springs not from labor but from the power of appropriation. It represents not things in existence but that which may be in existence at some future time. Rights to things can only originate with things, and must by nature lie with him that produces them. Watered stock accordingly cannot be capital.¹

¹ Economics has its basis in ethics. Until man's right to personal liberty was recognized there could be no freedom of contract—the hypothesis which Adam Smith used in his *Wealth of Nations*, and which Ricardo and Malthus further employed in their determination of the Law of Rent and of Population. If we may judge of the future by the past, we may expect the future extension of economic knowledge to be the result of a further and closer determination of the rights of man in and to property. Property rights will become more sacred. The wages of labor will belong, without division, to the laborer, be he superintendent or superintended; whether he exercise his muscles, his mind, or if you please, his morals. The profits of capital will belong, without division, to those who have the right of ownership in capital, whether they be individual, corporation, city, state or nation. Wealth, the product of social growth (economic rent), will belong, without division, to the society whose presence produces it, and those things that are planted in the earth by nature to serve man's wants will belong, by right, equally to all God's children.

It only remains to make application of the foregoing principles to land to answer whether land values should be included in the capital of a country. Land values are the reflex on land of the normal interest rates on value capital. As the uncertainties of life will cause man to require a net profit on concrete capital, or a rate of interest, the same influences will govern the man having the power of appropriating to his own use the economic rent of land. If his capital earns him 10 per cent he will consider the land rent he receives to be the same ratio to the land's value. If he wishes to "sell his land" he will expect to receive ten times the yearly rental. If the interest rate is 5 per cent he will expect to receive twenty times the annual rental. Stating it in another way, we may say the "right" of land ownership being a right to the perpetual rental, its "value" will be the sums of the perpetual rental discounted at the prevailing rate of discount to the present worth at the present time.

Free gifts of nature cannot be a product of labor, nor have they any relation to labor products. They cannot be measured by the units employed in the measurement of capital, because, having different sources and natures, they are entirely different in kind. To assert otherwise is to claim as sensible such queries as, "Which has the greatest cost of production, a cucumber or a sunbeam, a sewing machine or Niagara Falls, a bushel of wheat or a town lot?" If the items of capital must exist before they can be enumerated, how can the products of nature or of labor that will appear upon the earth as long as man inhabits it be claimed and listed as present day capital? They cannot, and land values have no proper place in an enumeration of capital.

¹In Professor Hadley's *Economics*, par. 320, he says: "Economic rent is chiefly due to foresight in investment." But suppose that the institution of private property in land did not exist, there could then be no investment. Would a rich gold or iron mine then be of no more value than a sand bank? Would they yield no economic rent in proportion to their richness or barrenness? Would there be no difference in the productive powers of a fertile valley and a desert plain?

The United States census report of total wealth must be analyzed and the different items segregated before it can be properly understood. If half the eighty billions of wealth represents the value of concrete labor products the balance, or forty billions, simply represents future expectations. These forty billions are the capitalized yearly earnings, from land and franchises, at the prevailing rate of interest. Another country, having the same population and labor products, and with equal natural and franchise advantages, but whose people require double the rate of interest, would list this value at twenty billions. Another country, with the same population and labor products, and with equal natural and franchise advantages, but whose people were satisfied with half the interest rate, would put down this item of their wealth at eighty billions. If a large stock of national capital is desired we have but to forego the natural right to personal freedom, re-establish slavery, have the number of slaves about half the number of people. We might then put our stock of national capital at about double the present inflated figures.

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RECENT TENDENCIES IN STATE ADMINISTRATION.

The utterances of the governors of several of our states within recent years have called the attention of the public to what has become the chief distinguishing characteristic of modern state administration, viz: the tendency to conduct administration by means of an appointed board or commission. Few Americans realize the extent to which this has gone. In a general way it is known that there are a great many commissioners and trustees of various sorts in our states, and that the care of certain public institutions is given over to them. But it is not so well known that many of the most important interests with which the state has to deal are in the hands of such boards. Thus we have Boards of Health and Charities in nearly all of our states. The numerous questions arising out of the modern system of transportation, questions affecting commerce and agriculture, the control of our penal and reformatory institutions, are all made the subject of commission government.

These boards and commissions have arisen in response to a well-defined demand for some agency which would carry us over an experimental period in administration, and can hardly be said to be the final answer to the question how best to care for these various interests. They must be considered as having been created especially to meet the wants of social and economic conditions consequent upon a rapid increase in population and wealth, and as first attempts to solve questions which are not yet fully answered. *apparent*

Having thus been created to meet the exigencies of the moment, they have often apparently been established with little regard to efficiency or to their proper relation to the administrative machinery which already existed. There has been a consequent multiplication of such boards and commissions until New York has to-day nearly one hundred dif-

ferent bodies of commissioners and boards of trustees, while Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and the other more populous states have a like number, many of which are unnecessary.

These boards fall into three divisions, depending upon the nature of their duties. Certain of them have only power to investigate and report upon their findings; others have semi-judicial powers; and a great deal of the executive power of the state has been placed in the hands of a third class.

It is not questioned here that for the purposes of investigation and recommendation a board may be an efficient organ of administration. Nor is it the intention to criticise boards with semi-judicial powers, in so far as they perform the work of a court. But where the board has only or chiefly, executive and administrative powers, as is the case in many instances, its necessity and usefulness in our state governments may be questioned. The suggestions in this paper go rather to the abuse than to the use of the idea of a board in the government of the state.

The appointment of the boards of the third class has reacted upon the organization of executive power in our states in two ways. It has seemingly increased the governor's power in that to him has generally been given the appointing of the members of the boards; and this has to a certain extent prevented this branch of the governing power from becoming overshadowed by the legislative and judicial branches. While this is true, it has given to the executive but little real power; for though he is able to appoint the members of the boards, he has no voice in the management of the affairs which are entrusted to them. Once appointed they pass from his control and become irresponsible, and their conduct can only be questioned by judicial processes.

The number and complexity of these commissions has become so great that students of politics may well give some attention to their usefulness as governmental agencies. Indeed, such an investigation has been suggested by four

of New York's governors within the last fifteen years, and by two governors of Massachusetts. The suggestion has also been made by writers upon legislation and administration that a reorganization in the field of government covered by such commissions would be in the interests of good government and public economy.¹

Any system of dealing with public interests in order to justify itself before the bar of present-day public opinion, must meet at least three requirements, *i. e.*, those of efficiency, economy and accountability. Systems which cannot meet these may live. But it is either because the people are not aware of their failure, or know of no better way to deal with the matters with which they are entrusted. The people of the states are to a great degree dependent upon the state government for safety and happiness, for liberty, property and general welfare. It touches them at each of these vital points; and it is to their immediate interest that the form of government which the state provides should be of the highest efficiency, and at the same time should be economical and responsible. The more complex these duties become, the greater becomes the necessity that the power which administers them should be restrained by such official responsibility as will keep it always within the control of the people. "The first requisite of efficient administration is power, with responsibility which can readily call it to account."

Present-day methods of administration through a commission are neither economical, efficient nor responsible. On the contrary, from the evidence before us they seem to be most extravagant methods, having a great lack of efficiency and being responsible to no one. Their creation, too, has taken a part of the executive power from where it logically belongs and transferred it to them in a manner which greatly

¹ Governors Hill, Morton, Flower and Odell in New York, and Russell and Greenhalge in Massachusetts, have referred to these matters in recent messages. Fairlie, Whitten, Webster and Goodnow, in published discussions, have also dealt with the subject.

weakens executive power and authority, while it does not inure to the benefit of the people.

A commission, generally speaking, is not as efficient as a single executive officer, for several reasons. In the organization of many of them there are seen to be a number of ex-officio members. These cannot be counted upon for active work, and are a source of weakness rather than of strength. If in addition to this the members live at a distance from each other, and meet only occasionally, they cannot have that grasp of affairs which is necessary to efficient administration. Such a commission is also subject to all the weakness of a deliberative body. In many cases the members are unpaid, and this causes a lack of interest unless they are stimulated by patriotism or some personal interest which may be wanting. The charge is also made that these commissions have on them men who have been appointed for political reasons, the commission being considered a place "of comfortable retirement for once active politicians whose occupation is gone, and whose usefulness to the commonwealth is measured only by their admitted uselessness to political parties or to business circles." It is not here claimed that all these sources of weakness are present in all commissions; but if any of them are, they are in so far rendered incapable of giving that efficient service which the public business ought to receive.

"A board," says Governor D. B. Hill, "consisting of eleven persons (aside from its ex-officio members) scattered in various parts of the state, and which only occasionally meets, is a cumbersome and unwieldy body. It cannot perform its duties as efficiently or satisfactorily as a single responsible head. Its functions cannot be discharged as economically or expeditiously as when in the hands of one controlling executive officer."¹ Governor Hill recommends the abolition of the State Board of Charities and the Commission in Lunacy, and the creation of a single commissioner, who should be vested

¹ Public Papers of D. B. Hill, 1886, p. 38.

with the powers of both boards. He also recommends the abolition of the State Board of Health of ten members, and the substitution of one officer competent to assume the sole general charge of the preservation of the public health. This officer should be as "potential and responsible" in his department, as are the other single departmental heads in theirs.

Another fact should be mentioned in this connection. The members of these boards in many instances have other business to which they must give the greater part of their attention, public service being to them only incidental. From the nature of the case efficient service cannot be expected from such members, if, as is true in many instances, the affairs to be dealt with are of a complex nature. Even such commissioners as those on the Board of Fish, Game and Forestry in New York, in the opinion of Governor Roosevelt should be woodsmen, and have no outside business.¹

The great multiplication of boards and commissions has tended to increase public expenditures very rapidly. This tendency was noted in 1892 by Governor Flower, of New York, in his annual message. The following table of expenses incurred by some of the boards in that state will indicate this with sufficient emphasis:

| Name of Board. | When Established. | Cost First Year. | In 1891. |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------|
| Board of Health | 1880 | \$11,700 | \$28,832 |
| Bureau of Labor | 1883 | 7,090 | 35,506 |
| Dairy Commission | 1884 | 41,503 | 91,842 |
| Forest Commission | 1884 | 2,954 | 58,478 |
| Arbitration | 1886 | 14,552 | 15,093 |
| Lunacy Commission | 1889 | 16,146 | 20,895 |

A great many commissions have been established since this message was written; but the warning which it contains is even more applicable to present conditions than it was to those of the time when it was written. The Governor further

¹ Message, 1900.

said: "Undoubtedly a large part of this legislation was wise and the commissions or bureaus created have accomplished many beneficial results; but some of them, I fear, have failed to justify the expenditure on their behalf, and the tendency in nearly all of them has been toward constantly increasing expenditures."¹

This indication of the tendency to expense has not been overlooked by later governors of the Empire State. Of somewhat sterner nature is the following from the message of Governor Morton in 1895: "A great extravagance arises from the multiplicity of commissions which have increased so rapidly in number and expense since about the year 1880. From an expenditure for the duties covered by these commissions of less than \$4,000 in 1880, we have seen the growth from year to year until the cost of these commissions alone amounted last year to nearly a million and a quarter of dollars."

The fullest treatment which the question of expense in commissions has received at the hands of a public servant is contained in the recent utterance of Governor Odell in January, 1901. Governor Odell calls the attention of the legislature to the fact of the great growth of government by commission, and points out clearly the importance of doing away with many of them which have outgrown their usefulness. His treatment of this question is so masterly a setting forth of the facts as to commission government in New York that I quote at some length from it:

"Legislation," he says, "in recent years has enlarged and in many cases duplicated the work until the many officials with their accompanying salaries, expenses and other incidental outlays have grown to proportions inconsistent with a due regard to the interests of the taxpayers. The Board of Mediation and Arbitration received an appropriation (in 1900) of \$17,800 for salaries and office expenses. The Bureau of Labor Statistics received an appropriation of

¹ Public Papers of R. G. Flower, New York, 1892, p. 20.

\$32,942. The State Factory Inspector's department received an appropriation of \$121,551; making a total appropriation for these three departments of \$172,293. It would seem that by a consolidation of these three departments into one, to be known as the Department of Labor, the work done by each of the present departments could be more efficiently performed and at a very much less expense than is now possible. In my opinion at least \$72,000 would be saved by such a union and the great interests of labor be better conserved." The State Board of Charities is composed of twelve members each of whom receive ten dollars per day for their service. The appropriation during 1900 for this purpose was \$51,620. If these duties were given to a single commissioner appointed by the governor it is estimated that a saving of \$25,000 per year could be effected. A like saving might be effected by doing away with the Prison Commission, in the opinion of Governor Odell, of \$10,000. In discussing the State Forestry Preserve Board and Forestry, Fish and Game Commission he says, "There was appropriated by the last legislature for the salaries and office expenses of the Forestry, Fish and Game Commission the sum of \$82,875. This includes the expenses of printing and publication of reports, salaries of commissioners and employees and other expenses incidental to the maintenance of such a department, but not the maintenance of hatcheries and legal expenses. Aside from the sum of \$250,000 appropriated for the purchase of lands and expenses of the Forest Preserve Board, there were expended for other salaries and office expenses over \$14,000 and paid for additional counsel about \$12,000. The saving of expenses which would undoubtedly follow consolidation would amount to probably \$35,000."¹

The experience of New York in this matter has not been exceptional. The evils complained of there might be dupli-

¹ Message of Governor Odell, New York, 1901.

cated in any one of a half dozen of our more populous states, and in all of them to some degree.

Following these vigorous recommendations of Governor Odell the Forest, Fish and Game Commission, and the Forest Preserve Board were consolidated and put under a single commissioner. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, Board of Mediation and Arbitration and Department of Factory Inspection were likewise consolidated under a single commissioner. The Prison Commission, consisting of eight members, and the Board of Health, consisting of three members, were each reorganized and put under single commissioners. It is too early yet to speak of results, but if the experience of our cities and of commission government generally is any criterion, the outcome cannot but be a happy one for New York.

The experience of Iowa in the matter of control of her public institutions is a case in point. Previous to the establishment of the Board of Control, the public institutions of that state were under the control of separate Boards of Trustees. With the establishment of the Board of Control these were abolished and thirteen institutions passed under a single management. The Board of Control made its first biennial report in 1899, which includes a statement of the expenses of carrying on the institutions for two years, one under the old plan and one under the new. It shows that for the eleven charitable, penal and reformatory institutions there was expended for the year ending June 30, 1898, a total of \$1,148,126.80. For the same institutions the expense of the following year was a total of \$966,492.95, this being \$181,633.85 less than for the previous year. The saving of expense was effected at no sacrifice to efficiency, but the universal verdict in that state is that the service was greatly improved. The board in its report says: "A full appreciation of this reduction in expense cannot be understood without reference to the fact that there has been an advance in the prices of supplies of all kinds during the last year of

from twenty to thirty per cent, as is shown by the commercial reports. Had the prices of two years before prevailed, it is safe to say that there would have been a reduction of \$150,000 more than the above. It is but stating a fact that the board has not in a single instance endeavored to reduce the cost of support of the institutions at the expense of efficiency of service to the inmates."¹

The experience of the State of Washington corroborates the above. In 1897 Washington's public institutions, five in number, passed from the control of separate Boards of Trustees under the care of a single Board of Control. The cost of maintaining these institutions under the old plan of directors for the four years ending in March, 1897, was \$1,021,531, or an average daily cost for all institutions of fifty-two cents per capita. For three and one-half years, under the Board of Control, the cost was \$799,303, or an average per capita cost of forty cents per day.²

What is shown to be true in these states is true of commission government everywhere. The people of the state universally get less service for the money expended, from this form of administration, than from any other. And this is true, irrespective of the integrity and carefulness of the individual members. It is the defects of the system which are here complained of—a system under which the best intentioned officials cannot work efficiently and economically.

The boards are practically irresponsible bodies. They are beyond the control of the people, or of any one who is responsible to the people for their actions. Appointed as they are for definite terms of office, they cannot be removed during that term except after an investigation, which amounts to an impeachment. The governor who appoints them in many cases can only appoint a single member, the terms of the others extending beyond his own, so that he

¹ First Biennial Report, Iowa Board of Control, p. 27.

² Bulletin, Iowa Board of Control, October, 1900, p. 1.

can neither mould the policy of the board nor can he be held responsible for it. "The people of the state might have a most decided opinion about the management and work of the departments and give emphatic expression to that opinion, and yet be unable to control their action. The system gives great power without proper responsibility, and tends to remove the people's government from the people's control. All must agree that the safe and democratic form of government is to make these administrative officers in some way responsible to the people."¹

Massachusetts furnishes us with an instance of the powerlessness of the people to control these commissions. Gross mismanagement was complained of in the prisons of that state. But upon investigation it was ascertained that the prison commissioners could not be reached after their appointment except at the trouble and expense of a judicial investigation, and nothing was done. The Board of Supervisors of Statistics of Massachusetts was organized in 1877, composed of certain ex-officio officers, its duties being to have general supervision over all matters relating to statistics. It was required under the law to meet regularly at the state house at least once a month. But in the course of fifteen years it met but once, and then did nothing. There being no one to whom the board was responsible nothing could be done to arouse it from its apathy.

Hon. Seth Low, who certainly speaks with authority upon this question, says: "State commissions for any other purpose than for inquiry are the most dangerous bodies, because they exercise authority without responsibility. Power without responsibility is always dangerous, but power with responsibility to a constituency, which can readily call it to account is not dangerous. It is the first requisite of efficient administration." The fact that these commissions are thoroughly irresponsible is more readily appreciated when we call to mind that under the law of appointed offices,

¹ Messages of Governor W. E. Russell, 1891, 1892, 1893.

where the appointing power must have the consent of any other body to make the appointment valid, the same power must consent to the removal of the officer so appointed, in the absence of express statutory provision to the contrary.¹ The constitutions of seven of our states provide that the governor may remove for cause any officer appointed by him; but the force of such provisions is largely broken when it is considered that the rule of law in such cases is that where removal is to be had for cause, the power cannot be exercised until after the officer has been duly notified and an opportunity is given him to be heard in his own defence.² This has been recognized in some of the later legislation, and definite provision is often made for the removal by the governor of the officers appointed by him under the acts. But this leaves a large number of commissioners and boards who are out of the reach of anything short of what virtually amounts to an impeachment.

While it is believed that the foregoing is a correct statement as to the present weaknesses of commission government, it should not be concluded that there is not a place for some use of the commission in our administration. In the period when we began their appointment, the questions with which they had to deal were new and untried. Experiments had to be made, information gathered, and suggestions offered. And for these purposes there can be no doubt as to the efficacy of a commission. We are no longer in the tentative stage in a great deal of our state administration, and, it would seem, need no longer adhere to tentative methods. We are able to say with definiteness what we desire with reference to a great many questions about which in the past we have been inquiring and experimenting. Is it not time for us to reorganize our system of administration, and inaugurate a policy which has unity and system coupled with a proper responsibility to the people?

¹ *People vs. Freese*, 76 Cal. 733.

² *Am. & Eng. Ency. Law*, v. 19, p. 562.

It was suggested in the beginning of this paper that this system had taken power which is properly executive and placed it beyond the reach of the executive department of the government. This has resulted in a comparative diminution of the power of that department in comparison with that of the legislative and judicial departments. The condition of affairs in the present is such that the rights of the people can only be guaranteed to them by a restoration of at least a part of this power to the executive. It is manifestly unfeasible to elect all the officers of the state administration. They must be appointed. But if appointed, they must by some means be held accountable for their actions. This might be secured by giving to the governor of the state the power to appoint heads of departments who should be at all times responsible to him and subject to his removal. Under them the various interests which are now taken care of by commissions could be cared for through deputies at less expense and with much gain in efficiency over the present system. Then if the governor were held responsible for the whole of the administration of the state, as he should be, the people would be possessed of an effectual check upon its conduct. This principle is familiar to us in the government of most of our large cities of to-day, and though the wisdom of the system has been questioned by many, it nevertheless seems to present the only feasible plan under our present conditions.

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WESTERN SOUTH AMERICA AND ITS RELATION TO AMERICAN TRADE.

The current discussion of the Isthmian Canal project justifies a careful study of Western South America. Our present commerce with that section is almost insignificant, comprising less than five-tenths per cent of our exports last year, nevertheless, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile include a large section of a continent having natural resources capable of contributing abundantly to the world's commerce. Indeed, forces are now at work whose operation will in time make these resources available. The purpose of this paper is to consider the geography and commercial relations of Western South America with reference to American trade.

Western South America comprises the part of the continent commercially dependent upon the Pacific. The area of a region so defined cannot be a definitely prescribed one, because it must vary with the development of the means of transportation to and from the ports of either coast. The centres of South American population are all near the coasts, and the coasts to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn are separated by natural barriers that will always cause the commerce of both shore regions to depend for transportation upon the oceans toward which they front.

The interior of the South American continent is a vast plain so level that small boats can pass from the Orinoco to the Amazon, and at the season of floods go from the head waters of the Amazon to those of the Plata. This interior level plain is covered by an impassable jungle, through which the rivers are the only highways. Great areas of the country are annually flooded. The conditions not only prohibit settlement, but also debar commercial communication between the coasts except by means of the steamers on the Amazon River, which must wind their way through

three thousand miles of unhealthy and unexplored forests to reach the foothills of the Andes. The Pacific Ocean is, and must remain, the commercial highway for the Pacific Coast plain, the Andean plateau, and probably for a large section of the eastern slope of the Andes.

The ordinary Mercator's projection wall map of the world makes North America seem much larger than South America, and gives the impression that the western part of the South American continent has a small area. The length of the Pacific shore line of South America is 5,000 miles, a distance great enough to reach from the Nicaragua Canal into the Arctic Sea beyond Baffin's Bay. Even the part of it that is to-day engaging in the foreign trade is 3,200 miles long, the distance from Cuba to the latitude of Northern Iceland. The Andean Highlands are in places 500 miles wide. South America lies in two habitable zones, while the commercial part of North America comprises only the best part of one zone, the North Temperate, where the degrees of longitude are shorter than in torrid latitudes. The distance from the Everglades of Florida to the unexplored woods north of Ottawa, Canada, is less than 1,500 miles. South America extends north and south an equal distance in the corresponding South Temperate latitudes, and in addition, more than 2,000 miles across the Torrid Zone.

The area of Western South America is about 750,000 square miles, twice that of the original thirteen states of North America, and more than three-fourths as large as the states to the east of the Mississippi River. The climatic variations run the full gamut. The plateaus lift their mountains in equatorial latitudes beyond the snow line, and the range of humidity is such as to produce tropic morasses, and arid deserts. The variety of production corresponds with the range in climate.

Western South America is separated into six regions possessing distinctly different industrial characteristics. These industrial subdivisions are the Cauca Valley of South-

western Colombia, the Ecuadorean coast plain, the Peruvian coast plain, the mineral desert of Chile, the Chilean agricultural belt and the Andean Plateau. The greater part of Western South America lies within the Torrid Zone, but owing to its elevation, the climate is chiefly that of the Temperate Zone. Only two of the six industrial units of Western South America, the Ecuadorean coast plain and the Cauca Valley have a tropical climate possessing the temperature and humidity of Cuba and Porto Rico, and they are the smallest of all the divisions, containing less than a million people. A third division, the Peruvian coast plain, lying within the Torrid Zone, is by its aridity saved from the malaria of the usual tropic climate.

The total population of Western South America is about 10,000,000, more than twice as large as that of our own Pacific and Rocky Mountain States, but possesses such different characteristics as to preclude comparison on a numerical basis. A large part of the South American population under discussion is native Indian, another large part is mixed Indian and Spanish, and but a small proportion, not exceeding one-fourth, is of the dominant Spanish race. In South America, the white men have not driven out the Indian, who is industrially superior to the North American Indian, and may be compared with our negro. All authorities agree in stating that native South Americans are a peaceable race that can be successfully utilized for industrial purposes. In many plateau sections, these Indians own their homes and the small tracts of land from which they glean their living by crude methods of agriculture. In the tropic plain of Ecuador, the labor conditions are less favorable, and the debt laws are such that in a country where theoretic freedom prevails, the ordinary laborer is held in a condition of financial and industrial servitude by his creditor.

The several industrial divisions of the continent vary widely in their typical exports. The agricultural products

include, among other articles, the cocoa and rubber of Ecuador, the wheat of Chile, and the sugar, cotton, and skins and hides from Peru. Among the minerals are the unique desert products, nitrate of soda and borax, the coal of Chile, and the copper, tin, silver and gold of the Andes.

Western South America has two broad physical divisions, the Andean region and the Coast plain. The Pacific Coast plain includes four of the most widely contrasted of the industrial regions. Two are within the tropics: the Ecuadorean coast plain, with abundant moisture for tropic agriculture, and the arid Peruvian coast plain, where all animal and vegetable life depends upon the water from the snow fields of the Andes. The dryness of the atmosphere and the absence of fresh-water lakes give this section a more healthful climate than most parts of the tropics possess, and make it suitable for the white races to inhabit. Between this region of irrigation and the agricultural belt that lies in the temperate region of Chile, is a desert, differing from other deserts, however, in that it contains wealth. The rainless climate has caused the accumulation and retention in the soil of large quantities of salts that are elsewhere dissolved and carried to the ocean. The most important part of these minerals is the nitrate of soda, which is found in a continuous deposit paralleling the seashore for 150 miles, and estimated to cover 220,000 acres and contain 228,000,000 long tons—a quantity sufficient to last the world for many decades. The nitrate lies close to the surface under a layer of sand, but the deposits are at the elevation of 3,300 feet, and must be reached by railroads built for the purpose. It is now being exported in large and increasing quantities, and gives rise to a mining industry requiring much capital and employing many men. The crude product is boiled down and chemically treated in large plants requiring expensive machinery.

Water to supply the towns on the rainless nitrate coast is brought to the cities in pipe lines from the Andes, 150 to

200 miles away. Every other article necessary for sustaining the life of man or beast must be brought by sea from some more favored region. The imports come from many countries, but chiefly from the agricultural districts farther south, where the products are similar to those of our Pacific Coast States, with which Chile possesses some points of similarity.

Chile is long and narrow, but her area is large, larger, in fact, than that of France, Germany or the United Kingdom, or the combined area of the New England and Middle Atlantic States with Maryland and the Virginias added. Her length of 2,600 miles would reach from New York to Utah. The country extends from a tropic desert to Terra del Fuego where the latitude and climate are like those of Scotland, or of Alaska.

The temperate shores of the Pacific in North and South America, show a succession of corresponding geographic and climatic features. These resemblances would appear plainly if Chile could be inverted beside the coast of North America. The lower end of the inverted Chile would be opposite the City of Mexico, and Terra del Fuego would be about the latitude of Sitka, Alaska. The 800 miles of Chilean desert, with its nitrates, would lie along the arid coast of Mexico with its silver mines. Patagonia would be opposite British Columbia and Alaska, both regions being damp, fringed with rugged islands, and cut into sharp fjords walled in by forest-clad mountains with snow fields on their summits and glaciers on their sides. The tropical and cold sections can produce little except raw materials, but in the temperate belt of each region, civilization and diversified industry are possible. The climate is that of Western Europe, and the United States.

It is by comparing the productive region of the North Temperate Pacific with the South Temperate Pacific that the greatest geographic resemblances of the two coasts appear; likewise their only difference. This difference is due to the

absence of a South American duplicate for the State of Washington. California and Oregon are reproduced, but the Antarctic current, sweeping up the coast of South America, shortens the temperate section of Chile so much that the region corresponding to the State of Washington is replaced by a longer continuation of the rugged and forest-clad coast similar to that of Alaska and British Columbia.

Near the Mexican boundary of the United States and in latitude 29° , the resemblances to the corresponding agricultural parts of Chile are obvious. In Chile, the arid country by means of irrigation produces grapes, raisins, citrus and other fruits, and alfalfa, the alfalfa being used as supplementary fodder for the cattle pastured on the higher hills. The arid belt extends several hundred miles, and is succeeded on the south by wheat fields and general agriculture. The Chilean forests corresponding to those of Central and Northern California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, exist in the lower half of the Chilean agricultural region and along the extensive coast of Patagonia.

The best section of the western slope of both Chile and the United States is found in a great interior valley. The valley of California, bounded on the east by the Sierra Nevada, on the west by the coast range and drained by the Sacramento and the San Joaquin rivers, is widely known because of its fertility. Chile also has a valley similar to this, but larger and superior to it in several particulars. It is enclosed by the Andes on the east and by coast ranges near the shore of the Pacific; but these coast ranges are not so continuous as those of California, being broken at frequent intervals where rivers make their way to the ocean. Instead of being drained by two rivers flowing lengthwise and having one outlet to the sea, the Chilean Valley has several small rivers flowing across it and discharging into the ocean. The basins of these rivers are not separated by high divides, but are practically continuous, so that the whole district is properly spoken of as one great valley.

The Andes are higher than the Sierra Nevadas, and the westerly winds bring a larger amount of moisture than California has. The streams have a larger and more constant flow of water from the mountain snows and furnish an abundant supply for irrigation, and in some places provide good power. The conditions and crops here are essentially Californian, and the population of two and a half millions of people is equal to the entire population of our Pacific Coast States.

The mountain systems of the Andes form the two remaining industrial units. The less important of these is the valley of the Cauca River in Southern Colombia, where the ranges of the mountains separate to come together again farther north. The ranges toward the Pacific are lower than those north of this valley, and the only commercial outlet of the valley lies across them. The valley is as large as New Jersey. Half a million people live there, at an elevation of from 3,000 to 6,000 feet, in a climate that is tropical and sub-tropical. Southward from Colombia the mountains become higher and widen into the Andean plateau which extends through Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia for a distance of 1,500 miles to the Argentine boundary. This plateau, the sixth of the industrial divisions above-named, contains as great an area and population as do all the others combined. It has a cool climate, a fair labor supply, pastoral and mineral resources, and the possibility of taking an important place in the world's trade, from which it is at present almost entirely cut off by the lack of means of communication over the high and steep ranges of the Western Andes.

The foreign trade of Western South America is with Europe and the United States, and amounts to about \$160,000,000 per annum—an average of sixteen dollars per capita, or slightly more than half of our average. Comparisons of per capita foreign trade do not, however, throw much light on industrial conditions. Western South America

exports only raw materials and imports nearly all of the manufactures used. The United States having a great variety of resources and industries supplies most of her own wants, and her imports consist not only of special manufactures, but also of material needed by American industries. Our foreign trade of thirty dollars per capita represents a small part of our industrial activity, while in Western South America the foreign trade of sixteen dollars per person represents almost the entire commercial activity of a population industrially undeveloped.

The nature of the resources of Western South America is such that the region is likely to continue permanently in the extractive stage of industry, or at least till a period too remote for present consideration. Pacific South America is now but half of an industrial unit, the other half, the manufacturing complement, is in Europe and the United States, and can be reached only by a long and dangerous route. Each one of these industrial half units needs better facilities for marketing its produce in the other. One important service of an isthmian canal will be to unite these separated commercial and industrial complements.

Western South America bears the same relation to the manufacturing centres of Europe and the United States that New Mexico, Colorado and Wyoming, with their raw products, bear to the manufacturing states along the Atlantic Coast. The countries of the North Atlantic need, and are buying, the export products of the west coast of South America—the nitrate and the ores of silver, gold and copper, cotton, sugar, cocoa, coffee, hides, wool, rubber, woods and grain. In return for this export these South American Republics are importing from many countries, but chiefly from the United Kingdom, all kinds of manufactures, from pig iron to watches and silks. By increasing this trade, both parties will be benefited. The production of raw material will be stimulated no less than the production of manufactures. For any gain that comes to South America,

the rest of the world must receive an equal and complementary advantage.

The South American exports are about a third greater than the imports, the export surplus being in part an interest payment to the foreign creditors who have furnished the money for all the leading enterprises in this part of the continent. A small portion of the trade comes and goes by way of the Isthmus of Panama, but the bulk of it passes around Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan. European countries control the greater part of the trade, buying nine-tenths of the exports, and furnishing a slightly larger share of the imports. On the surface this is a discouraging showing for the United States, but our small influence there is the result of several causes which may be regarded as temporary, and which will probably have disappeared before the year 1920.

The first cause of Europe's trade superiority is the diligent care European merchants have taken to please their South American customers. Goods have been manufactured, packed, shipped and paid for in accordance with the desires of the purchaser, and this policy has been steadily pursued. Until recently the first concern of the American manufacturer has been the home market, and he has regarded the foreign trade mainly as an avenue for disposing of an undesired surplus. Scant attention has been given to the demands of foreign purchasers, and the American consuls all over the world have constantly repeated the complaint that our goods were not made or packed to suit the requirements of the markets to which they were sent. The past three years have witnessed a remarkable change in our attitude toward the foreign trade. Our exports have suddenly increased until we find ourselves leading the world, and commercial journals in Europe and America seem to be fearful of American supremacy. Accompanying this is the changed attitude of our manufacturers. They have come to realize their ability to export goods to all countries, and

are everywhere enlarging their business and studying the conditions necessary to win the foreign market.

The results of this change are noted by foreign consuls, who are now beginning to report to their governments that the American goods are shipped in the best form and are securing the trade. An example of this is the displacement in Chile of the heavy and expensive English threshing machines by the cheaper and lighter machine of American manufacture. This change of attitude, this focusing of our attention and effort on the export trade will produce great results in the next two decades.

A second cause of the present European superiority in the South American trade is the lower freight rates. For the last forty years the European exporters have been able to get their goods carried to Western South America at rates 15 to 50 per cent lower than those secured by the Americans. American exports are frequently sent to Europe for reshipment to South American ports. Europe imports largely from South American ports, and the outgoing vessels carry European goods very cheaply, and to the detriment of the American exporter. The effect of heavy imports on export rates is well illustrated in the competition of the European countries with each other. German shippers sometimes have an advantage of 25 per cent over the English on rates to Chile, because Germany is the largest importer of Chilean nitrate. British goods are sometimes shipped by way of Hamburg. The British commissioner, appointed to investigate the Chilean trade in 1898, pointed out this disparity of rates as one of the causes of the stationary trade of the United Kingdom with Western South America and of the growing trade of Germany with that section. Europe has better rates to South America than we have and more regular, frequent and rapid connections. We have the short cut across the Isthmus, but the rates charged by the Panama Railroad greatly restrict its use. For many decades our only other direct connection has been by sailing vessels, and in

this age of rapid transactions they are too slow and irregular to be depended upon in commercial competition. In 1899, our exports to the west coast were no more valuable than in 1875, yet the total of our exports to all countries is two and two-fifths times what it was twenty-five years ago. It is less than ten years since the starting of the first of two lines of steamers from New York. They have not caused much growth in our South American trade, neither have they reduced freight rates to the European level, and our consuls and merchants in Chile, Peru and Ecuador are still complaining of the inadequacy of our connections in comparison with those of Europe. The New York steamers have shown their superiority over sailing vessels by securing nearly all the goods carried by the sailers in 1890. They are always full loaded on leaving New York, and the recent addition of more steamers to the lines shows the prosperity of the firms that operate them under charter from their British owners.

South America lies so far to the east of North America that the New York merchant is at a disadvantage as compared with the European shipper in securing the South American trade. The meridian of Washington cuts through western Peru and passes out into the Pacific. The nitrate ports of Chile have the longitude of Boston, and the coast of Brazil is 2,600 miles east of New York. As the vessels from New York to the west coast must round this easterly point, steamers from New York have no advantage over the vessels from the English Channel. The ports of southern Europe are nearer to Brazil than is New York. Prior to 1890 we carried all our commerce to the west coast in sailing vessels, whose course from our Atlantic seaboard must be eastward to the vicinity of the Azores before the ships can get into the trade winds that will carry them past the Brazilian capes. This detour has placed a ten days' handicap upon the greater part of our trade with Western South America. The future will be different. Any European

advantage of rates, steamer connections or distance may be expected to disappear not long after the opening of a canal across the American isthmus.

By the present route it is farther from New York to Guayaquil than from New York to China. With the new highway in use, the Pacific shore of South America will be as accessible as our own Pacific Coast. If the Panama Canal is built, Guayaquil will be 180 miles nearer to New York than is Liverpool. By the Nicaragua Canal, it will be 1,200 miles farther from New York to San Francisco than from New York to Callao, Peru, and the distance from New York to San Francisco will be only fifty-four miles less than that from New York to Valparaiso, Chile. New York will be farther from the cities of Puget Sound than from any Pacific port of South America. Our Gulf ports of New Orleans and Mobile are 800 miles nearer to the Pacific than is New York, while the canal gives all our ports from 2,000 to 3,000 miles advantage over the commercial centres of Europe when trading through the same waterway.

This great reduction in distance will affect rates and lead to the establishment of direct and adequate steamer connections. Moreover, our export trade will probably be sought for by outgoing European vessels calling at our ports on their way to South America. A steamer from Liverpool to the entrance of either canal can call at New York by adding only 320 miles to her voyage, a day and a third for a ten-knot steamer. At the rate of \$250 per day, that detour would be paid for by a difference of fifty cents per ton on 666 tons of coal, and American coal is cheaper than British. It therefore seems reasonable to expect our export rates to be more favorable than those of Europe. A great growth in our Western South American trade will follow from these advantages of transportation; because no other part of the world has more fundamental reasons than Western South America has for the growth of commercial exchanges with this country. Our South American trade is of a more

complementary character than that of Europe with that continent, or than that of our own trade in any other part of the globe. We export to many countries, but it is only from South America that our imports exceed our exports.

Our factories need the raw materials produced in Western South America, and we will continue to need, in increasing quantities, the nitrates, the ores, the wool and hides, the sugar and cacao and cotton. In return, the producers of these articles require supplies almost identical to those we are now sending to Montana and Colorado, all kinds of dry goods, groceries, and agricultural and mining machinery and supplies. South America is an agricultural and mining frontier, and our resources of iron and wood, and our mechanical skill place us in good position to furnish the appliances needed to develop such resources. The demand for raw materials in this country and for bulky manufactures in Western South America, will furnish cargo both ways for the ships engaged in the trade. Such constant employment for the ship means lower rates both ways, an advantage now possessed by the countries of Europe, but not by the United States.

The basis for the growth of commerce between this country and Western South America, can be shown plainly by an examination of the trade conditions and resources in some of the industrial sections of this part of the continent.

The foreign commerce of Chile now amounts to about \$100,000,000, and is increasing. In 1899, the exports were \$59,000,000, and the imports \$39,000,000; about nine-tenths of the imports came from Europe, while nineteen-twentieths of the exports went to that continent. Our trade is slight compared with that of the United Kingdom, Germany or France. An examination of the elements of the trade of Chile reveals why the United States is particularly interested in it, and why the canal will increase our share.

Of the Chilean exports, nitrate of soda comprises nearly 60 per cent, although the percentage is slightly declining owing to the increased export of copper and copper ores. Next in the order of importance comes silver and silver ores, then wheat and barley, wool, hides, and other scattering agricultural and mineral products, most of which are needed in the United States. We need the nitrate for our fertilizers and chemical manufactures, we have the coal to smelt the copper and silver ores, we need the wool for our carpet manufactures and the hides to furnish raw materials for our leather manufactures. Of course, the grain products are needed only in Europe.

Of the Chilean imports, cotton manufactures comprise by far the largest part. Then comes machinery of all kinds, kerosene, woolens, coal, bagging and all kinds of miscellaneous manufactures and supplies. The cotton manufactures are made of the raw material that grows in the southern part of the United States, and is carried to Europe for manufacture whence the goods are shipped through the Straits of Magellan. Much of that cotton cloth will in the future go direct from American mills via New York, Charleston, Mobile or New Orleans and save transshipments, and seven thousand miles or more of transportation. We have the materials and manufacturing ability to furnish the Chileans their machinery; we are now furnishing them with kerosene, and, when the canal is opened, we will probably be able to send the coal and many miscellaneous manufactures.

The reduction in freight rates that may be expected to follow the opening of the canal will not only extend the present lines of our trade with Western South America, but will change the character and increase the number of the articles entering into it. With a few exceptions, the goods Chile secures in this country are those which we produce under especially favorable circumstances: lard, lumber, kerosene, breadstuffs, patented articles such as medicines, firearms,

electrical appliances, farming machinery and improved hardware. These articles can be sold more readily in Chile after the canal has been opened. We have just begun to send iron and steel to Chile. The bulk of the pig, bar and hoop iron, and rails and castings now come from Europe, although we can make them more cheaply than our European rivals can. The railroads of Chile have iron rails that must soon be changed for steel which the mills of the United States will be in the best position to supply. We are already sending locomotives and cars. The towns and cities of Chile will use an increasing amount of structural iron for building purposes, and this will naturally come from our country and by the same route as the steel rails and machinery. The growing use of electricity in a country having many mountain streams for water power, will open up a demand for electrical machinery which American manufacturers are already able to supply. We are sending small quantities of many other articles in the cost of which transportation is a large factor, viz: earthenware, glass and glassware, cordage, paper and coal. Our cotton exports to Chile consist mainly of one or two plain staple grades made without reference to the Chilean market, and shipped in bulk as chance opportunities occur. With canal transportation and attention given to the demands of the market, that business can be greatly extended.

Less than half of the tillable surface of Chile is cultivated, but its new territories are being developed. For three-fourths of the agriculture improved plows and farming machinery are used, two-thirds of the supply being furnished by the United States. The other fourth of the work is done with the prehistoric wooden plow; the wheat being threshed by treading it out with horses. The nearness of the country to water transportation makes the introduction of foreign improvements easy and increases the possibilities of foreign trade. With improvements in the means of connection with other countries production will

increase and the population will grow, and the United States will be in a position to profit by it. Chile has one-third of the population and two-thirds of the commerce of Western South America, her per capita commerce being four times as large as that of the tropical countries of Western South America. She has also more domestic manufactures, and their increase promotes foreign trade.

The northern half of Western South America has lagged behind Chile. Revolutions and civil wars have been frequent, the governments are weak, and, owing to the instability of affairs, capitalists have been frightened away. These conditions will gradually disappear as industry and prosperity increase. The Argentine Republic, Mexico and Chile are examples of Spanish-American peoples who have secured fairly stable political conditions and are improving their industries. Ecuador and Peru are now enjoying a period of quiet and prosperity that has lasted several years, and foreign capital is being invested in moderate quantities. Permanent peace cannot safely be predicted, but as prosperity increases, and more capital comes in, the forces that make for stable political conditions will be stronger. Capitalists have in the past been deterred from utilizing many valuable opportunities. However, the managers of foreign corporations in Peru report that their actual losses are surprisingly small. Political disturbances do not often seriously interfere with the foreign corporations engaged in the extractive industries of agriculture and mining, or in transportation. With the merchant it is different, because purchases are stopped during periods of political disturbance.

Western South America, like all new countries, depends upon foreign capital for its progress. To the use of foreign capital has been due the development of Australia, South Africa, the western commonwealths of this country, and what progress there has been made in South America. Foreigners, mostly Europeans, own the steamers of the Amazon, the railroads of Brazil and Argentine, the nitrate works of

Chile and the sugar plantations of Peru. Frenchmen own the coffee estates of Brazil, Scotchmen own the flocks of Argentine and Terra del Fuego, and German merchants control the wholesale trade of many South American cities. The foreign capital must be managed by foreigners for the present, at least, and probably for many years to come.

The supply of capital for South America will in the future come from the United States as well as from Europe. We have become large exporters of the iron and steel and machinery needed by new countries. Our increasing wealth and population will furnish money and men for industrial enterprises in foreign lands. American ownership and direction of railroads, mines and other enterprises in Mexico have been chiefly responsible for the industrial revolution in that country during the past twenty years, and for the accompanying expansion of her commerce, the chief part of which has been with the United States. This work is still going steadily forward in Mexico, but we shall welcome the opportunities lying beyond the Isthmus of Panama that will be made accessible to us by the isthmian canal.

The capitalistic development of Western South America, particularly of the northern part, has barely begun. It has great stores of natural wealth, but obstacles in the way of their exploitation have thus far delayed the development of the section. Large organizations of capital are necessary; indeed, successful enterprises in the Andean region must be on a larger and more comprehensive scale than on the level plains of Argentine. In Argentine the European owner cultivates his grain and pastures his flocks on a level plain; but in Peru irrigation is necessary to agriculture. There is, however, no business more surely profitable than agriculture under irrigation, notwithstanding the necessarily heavy outlay of capital. The construction of a railroad across the level pampas, to carry away the wool and grain of Argentine, is a very much easier task than building a line up the defiles of the Andes to tap the mineral wealth of the plateau.

Operations on the east side can be conducted with moderate capital, but on the west side the large capitalist, the mining expert and the complicated machine are necessary. But the return promises to be all that can be desired. The efficiency of consolidated capital in Western South America has already been shown, as it has produced the greater part of the commodities now exported. Chile exports one and a half million tons of nitrate of soda per year, and it has been mined by firms that own the nitrate fields, the reducing plants, the railroads and the piers from which it is shipped to Europe. The irrigated sugar plantations of Peru are equally complete. Nearly all of the existing and projected plans for development of the resources in this part of the continent include also some system of improved transportation, without which exploitation is impossible.

Among the many opportunities for such large investments of capital, two may be mentioned—mining in the Andes and agriculture by irrigation on the coast of Peru. This coast section has a dry climate, a rich soil, a good supply of water and room for a considerable extension of cultivation. At the time of the Spanish Conquest the population was several times as great as it is at present, and a much larger proportion of the soil was irrigated. Many crops are grown, but sugar and cotton are the chief exports and both come to this country. Sugar cane is cut eight or ten times without replanting, and the annual crop is over 100,000 tons and is increasing. It is claimed that sugar can be produced more cheaply there than in any other country. American machinery and American capital are already in use.

Peruvian cotton is a special product with a brown color and a curly fibre, useful for mixing with wool. It is called "vegetable wool" and has a high value. The cotton plant reaches the size of a small tree, lives for years, produces two crops per annum, the present small output being grown, with practically no cultivation, in the moist soil near the streams. With the establishment of proper irrigation

works the cotton crop, like the sugar crop, will be greatly increased, and another raw material furnished to our factories. Our present imports come via London or Liverpool.

The Andean plateau is the greatest untouched source of wealth in all South America. This section is as long as our Rocky Mountain region from Mexico to Canada, has an equal or greater number of mountain ranges, contains the same general geologic formations, probably has greater mineral resources and has a population between three and four times that of the North American plateau. As the climate of the whole section is temperate the population can be made fairly efficient industrially.

At present nearly all of this plateau region is cut off from the outside world except by such connection as is afforded by the pack-mule traversing Andean trails. Foreign trade consists only of a small export of wool, hides and valuable ores sent out at great cost in return for miscellaneous manufactures. The people raise their own food, often spin their own thread, make their own clothes and live in huts built without nails. Yet this is the region that furnished the greater part of the bullion supply of the world for three hundred years. During this century it has been left behind by the development of more accessible fields. The crude and wasteful mining methods of the old Spanish taskmasters still prevail. The Indian burrows through the veins of silver, tin or copper ore, carrying out the best of it in a rawhide sack, breaking it with a hammer, and sending the richest of it on muleback to the seacoast for shipment to Europe. The mines are unventilated, and when water is struck they must be abandoned, unless they can be baled out by a bucket brigade. The famous mines of Potosi reported to have yielded three billion dollars in silver, are reached only by a bridle path, and in this particular they are like the other great metal producers of the past.

The simplest mining operations require heavy machinery that can be carried only by rail or water transportation.

With the extension of the Andean railroad lines improved machinery like that used in Colorado and Montana will be introduced. Drowned mines can be pumped out and with hoisting and ventilating machinery worked to five or ten times their present depth. Low grade ores can be handled by the mills and crushers and transported by rail. By the present wasteful methods silver ores worth thirty dollars per ton are thrown away in Peru, when ores one-fourth as rich are profitably worked in the United States. Copper ore under thirty per cent pure is left at the Peruvian and Bolivian mines, while fortunes are being made in this country by smelting ores with three or four per cent copper. The rich heaps of refuse ore left by the Andean miners of the past four centuries, and thousands of abandoned mines can be profitably re-worked by using modern machinery. The mines of Cerro Pasco, Peru, are said to contain enough low grade copper ore to fully employ the railroad that is now planned to develop them. This vicinity and Northern Peru have coal deposits also, but fuel for power plants will generally be scarce on the plateau. Fortunately the mining companies can use electricity generated by water power, of which the melting snows furnish a steady and abundant supply. The streams descend from an altitude of 14,000 feet to the plains below and give opportunity for the installation of widely distributed plants.

The building of these railroads and the establishment of electric and mining plants will be much easier after the isthmian canal has opened a shorter highway to the North Atlantic. It will also give the United States the chance to furnish the machinery and smelt the ores. We are already beginning to get some of the ore which our cheap coal supply enables us to smelt to good advantage.

The improvements in mining methods described above have actually taken place near the two lines of railroad that have reached the edge of the plateau in the region of Lake Titicaca. Large corporations have run mines after the plan

prevailing in our Western States. The plateau needs only the continuation and multiplication of processes that are now in operation in its southwestern corner. One of the two railroads is being extended and the other is surveying for an extension.

The food supply of the plateau is limited to wheat, beans, potatoes and other temperate zone products. Tropic products come from the lower valleys on the eastern slope, and since much of the plateau is treeless there is a large trade in wood as well as food products. All the freight comes up by pack animals, an expensive process that will be replaced by electric railroads when the demand grows to larger proportions because of the industrial development of the plateau. Many of these eastern valleys have rich, fine soil, a subtropical climate and valuable deposits of gold. These districts will be developed from the plateau and will export any surplus by way of the Pacific. This slope already sends over the Andes some coffee, cocoa and hides, and a large share of the world's supply of coco leaves for the manufacture of cocaine.

In the northern part of the Andean region is the Cauca Valley. Its elevation gives it a warm climate, but the section is truly Andean, inasmuch as it is cut off from the ocean by a range of mountains and has to depend upon pack-mule transportation for all of its commerce. The people do a little gold mining, but live chiefly by agriculture, importing nearly all of their merchandise except some domestic manufactures of straw hats, coarse cloths and utensils. The skill of the artisan is attested by their fairly neat homes and wooden bridges with spans as great as eighty feet in length.

All the internal traffic of the valley as well as its foreign trade is carried on over trails so bad that oxen are sometimes preferred to the less sure-footed mule. The load that the American farmer puts on a two-horse wagon is there divided up into packs for twenty-five animals. The exports of agricultural products are limited to the most valuable

articles, such as coffee and cocoa of the best grades, although corn, sugar, tobacco and fruits are cultivated, and cattle are raised.

Concessions have been given for a railroad to go through the valley from the port of Buenaventura and twenty miles of the line have been built, but the enterprise is now in suspense. The completion of this line and the opening of an isthmian canal will bring the producing districts of the valley thousands of miles nearer to the commercial world. At present, Buenaventura, its port, is in the traffic territory of the Panama railroad and steamship lines. This is declared by commercial writers to be sufficient to stagnate the trade of the Pacific Coast. During the high steamer rates of the year 1900, such typical articles as wire and nails were taken from New York to China for \$8 a ton, but it cost \$15 a ton to land them at Buenaventura, 7,000 miles nearer. From there the costs were \$8 per ton to the end of the railroad, and \$40 per ton additional by pack-mule over the pass of the Andes, 6,000 feet in elevation, to Cali, seventy-seven miles from the ocean. The mule transportation cost seventy cents per ton per mile. After reaching Cali some of the goods had to double the freight charge of \$63 per ton by being carried many miles up and down the valley. At the same time the steel manufacturers of Pittsburg were paying an unusually high freight charge of \$3.60 per ton to the seaboard.

The opening of the isthmian canal, the building of the railroad, and the introduction of foreign capital will be revolutionary in their effect upon the trade of the Cauca Valley. The first effect of the building of the railroad will be the importation of machinery for agriculture and the smaller industries, and the valley will export coffee, cacao, animal products and raw sugar.

Western South America is an undeveloped agricultural and mining region offering an opening for American capital and promising by its industrial growth to increase the pro-

portion of its trade with the United States. An isthmian canal will furnish the avenue for marketing the products and supplying the machinery needed to utilize the resources of large territories that now carry on their internal commerce in a fashion more primitive than prevailed in our Great West in the period when the prairie schooner was the only land transportation agent west of the Missouri River. Western South America is certain to need a great variety of the manufactures we can produce to advantage, and no other division of the world will furnish us more of the raw materials needed by our industries.

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COMMUNICATIONS.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FORMING AND ADMITTING NEW STATES INTO THE UNION.

Our system of carving new states out of the public domain and incorporating them into the union is one of the contributions to political science which the American people have worked out for themselves. In the beginning of our independent existence Congress gave no consideration to the question of the formation or admission of new states west of the Alleghany Mountains, at least there is no recorded evidence of it. The Articles of Confederation ignored the possibility of their existence. Even Franklin, who previously had given considerable thought to western governments, considered in his draught of the Articles the possibility of admitting to the union certain then existing British colonies only.¹ The idea of forming new colonies in the west, subject to the British crown, was not a new one, and indeed attempts were soon made actually to establish new governments in that region;² but these attempts were unsuccessful, and through the Revolution the west remained *de facto* with the claimant states.

As the Revolutionary war progressed the idea gained ground that the western lands might be made to pay the war debt. In June, 1778, the Rhode Island delegates in Congress wished to have the Articles of Confederation amended so as to secure to Congress the crown lands, "reserving to the states within whose limits such crown lands may be the entire and complete jurisdiction thereof."³ New Jersey also objected to the Articles on this ground.⁴ Alexander Hamilton, in September, 1780, suggested that Congress be invested with the whole or a part of the western lands for revenue purposes, "reserving the jurisdiction to the states by whom they are granted."⁵ Other expressions of the same kind⁶ might be cited, but this is sufficient to show that, with the exception to be noted below, the small states

¹ Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow), v, 553.

² See Turner's *Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era* in *American Historical Review*, i, Nos. 1 and 2; also, the writer's *New Governments West of the Alleghanies before 1780*—*Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. Economics, Political Science, and History series*, ii, No. 1.

³ *Journals of Commerce*, iv, 370.

⁴ *Journals*, iv, 377.

⁵ Letter to James Duane, quoted by Adams, *Maryland's Influence*, p. 34.

⁶ See *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 1020.

without claims to western lands themselves were distinctly admitting that states having such claims should retain at least the jurisdiction over them. We see also that so pronounced a nationalist as Alexander Hamilton held, at this time, that the old states should have individual jurisdiction over the west.

The most persistent declarations in favor of Congress using the back lands to defray the expenses of the war came from Maryland. Virginia claimed a vast extent of the western country for herself, and if she should retain it the Marylanders felt that it would be a serious menace in various ways to their prosperity.¹ In apprehension of the growing power of her already powerful neighbor, Maryland, through her delegates in Congress, moved October, 1777 that Congress have the right to fix the western boundary of states claiming "to the Mississippi or South Sea."² Maryland alone was in favor of this. Nevertheless the Virginia delegates were alarmed: the Articles of Confederation had not yet been sent to the states for ratification, and they secured the insertion of a clause providing that "no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States."

It was just this western land question which caused the long delay in putting the Articles of Confederation into effect. The other states ratified them with little difficulty, but Maryland positively refused to do so till that question should be settled to her satisfaction. It was not till the demands of Maryland were backed by a growing public opinion and the request of Congress³ that the determined opposition of Virginia gave way, and she offered to the United States both soil and jurisdiction of the territory northwest of the Ohio river.⁴ It was more than three years afterwards that the cession was finally accepted,⁵ but Maryland was satisfied that she had gained her point. Her delegates were instructed to sign the Articles of Confederation,⁶ which were then put in force.

About the time of the large cession of Virginia came the smaller though important ones of New York,⁷ Massachusetts and Connecticut, and Congress was confronted with the necessity of adopting some system of organization and government for the western country. It was indeed decided that it should be cut into separate and independent states. That had been a part of Maryland's contention

¹ See Maryland's Subsequent Declaration, *Journals*, v, 210.

² *Journals*, iii, 435.

³ September 6, 1780, *Journals*, vi, 180.

⁴ By act of Assembly passed January 2, 1781, Hening's *Statutes*, x, 564.

⁵ *Journals*, ix, 67.

⁶ Act of Maryland Assembly, laid before Congress February 12, 1781, *Journals*, vii, 32.

⁷ *Journals*, vii, 45.

in the beginning,¹ when elsewhere the apparently universal cry was that the old states should retain at least the jurisdiction over the west. It seems to have been regarded as a rather secondary matter. Maryland desired that Virginia be deprived of both soil and jurisdiction; so, as a natural corollary, she proposed the formation of new states. When asking for cessions Congress² promised such formations, probably in order to quiet any fears some may have had that a more objectionable use would be made of the land. Moreover, Virginia had made it a condition of her cessions. That much then was settled. It remained for Congress to provide the system by which it should be brought about.

The first action taken by Congress having any reference to new states was in the resolve of October 10, 1780, already noted. Congress then guaranteed that land which any state might cede to the United States would "be settled and formed into separate republican states, which shall become members of the federal union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states; that each state which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit."³ This would mean about twenty-five new states east of the Mississippi, providing each were 150 miles square. With 100 miles square to each state nearly sixty new states could have been expected east of the Mississippi, or over 300 in the present United States, exclusive of Alaska and insular possessions. Until the passage of the Ordinance of 1784 Congress took no further action regarding new states, although an attempt was made in May, 1782, to limit the size of new states to a maximum of 130 miles square.⁴

Meanwhile propositions and attempts at the formation of definite states were being made. As already indicated, the idea of new western governments was by no means new.

Probably the earliest expressions of the idea of forming trans-Appalachian governments by the united action of the old ones were in the plans for the union of the colonies, proposed in the Albany Convention in 1754.⁵ The President-General and Grand Council, representing the union, were to make new settlements in the west, and also to

¹ See Declaration of Maryland's First Constitutional Convention, *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 178, cf. *Journals*, iii, 436, v, 210; also, Hening's *Statutes*, x, 549-556.

² *Journals*, vi, 213.

³ *Journals*, vi, 213.

⁴ *Journals*, vii, 362.

⁵ Plan for union of the Northern Colonies, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, first series, vii, 203. Franklin's plan in his *Works* (Bigelow), ii, 355.

"make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating and managing such new settlements till the Crown shall see fit to form them into particular government or governments." Franklin, in his comments on this scheme, thought distinct governments might be formed when the new colonies "become sufficiently populous."¹ The plans as we have them say nothing about their admission into the union in due time, but probably that was expected. We find then in embryo the present system of organizing and conducting new territorial governments by a union as far back as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Transylvanians, in 1775, elected a delegate to the Continental Congress. He went to Philadelphia with the petition from his constituents "that Transylvania may be added to the number of the United Colonies," and met with some encouragement. The settlers in western Pennsylvania tried to organize as a separate government, and get recognition by Congress as a separate state, but there is no evidence that Congress even considered their request.² The people of Franklin made greater progress in organizing their state government, but were also ignored by Congress.

These three inchoate states illustrate the fact that it was the accepted idea on the frontier at least that new governments should be formed in the west. They show the tendency of the early western settlers toward independent local government and the formation of new states for themselves. Perhaps the best illustration of this is in the case of Vermont, then practically a frontier state, successfully maintaining herself against the opposition of the claimant states. The pioneers of those days had not sufficient loyalty to the states claiming their allegiance to prevent their attempting to create new commonwealths in the territory of their mother states. Congressional action in this direction came too slowly for them. With the session of the lands and the formation of liberal state governments by Congress it could be expected that the new organizations would receive the unqualified support of the impatient settlers.

Probably the first plan looking to the formation of a definite state by congressional initiative was that of Silas Deane. It was in a letter to the secret committee of Congress in December, 1776, proposing that the western land be made to pay the expenses of the war and that a settlement be made at the mouth of the Ohio to enhance its value. He thought a tract of two hundred miles square, between the Ohio and Mississippi should be given to a company of Americans and Euro-

¹ Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow), II, 369.

² For a full discussion of Transylvania and Westsylvania, see the writer's *New Governments West of the Alleghanies*, chaps. IV and V.

peans who should engage to establish a "civil government regulated and supported on the most free and liberal principles, taking therein the advice of the honorable Congress of the United States of America." After reaching the size of one thousand families the new state should be taxed for "the publick expenses of the Continent or United States," and should then "be entitled to a voice in Congress."¹ It can be seen at once that this scheme foreshadowed territorial government by Congress, and admission to the union upon the condition of a certain number of inhabitants. One thousand families in a new country would mean a total population of not over five thousand—a rather small number for statehood.

Thomas Paine's plan² came out in 1780. He proposed that a new state be formed in about the region of the proposed Vandalia colony, or modern West Virginia. In this connection he made some significant and interesting suggestions concerning the establishment of new state governments as follows :

"The setting off the boundary of any new state will naturally be the first step, and as it must be supposed not to be peopled at the time it is laid off, a constitution must be formed by the United States as the rule of government in any new state for a certain term of years (perhaps ten) or until the state becomes peopled to a certain number of inhabitants ; after which the whole and sole right of modelling their government to rest with themselves. A question may arise whether a new state should immediately possess an equal right with the present ones in all cases which may come before Congress. This experience will best determine ; but at first view of the matter it appears thus : that it ought to be immediately incorporated into the union on the ground of a family right, such a state standing in the line of a younger child of the same stock ; but as new emigrants will have something to learn when they first come to America, and a new state requiring aid rather than capable of giving it, it might be most convenient to admit its immediate representation into Congress, there to sit, hear, and debate on all questions and matters, but not to vote on any till after the expiration of seven years."

Is not this a clear indication of the later territorial government and the territorial delegate to Congress, showing the territory as a recognized part of the United States, admitted regularly into the Union in time?

Three years later came what may be called the army plan,³ brought forward by General Rufus Putnam and other leading officers. They

¹ *American Archives*, fifth series, iii, 1021.

² Paine's *Public Good*, p. 31.

³ Cutler's *Life of Cutler*, i, 156-9, cf. Pickering's *Life of Pickering*, i, 457.

proposed that a new state be established in the region which is now Ohio, and the land given out to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, the United States government giving them also full farming equipments, transportation, and entire support for three years. It was expected that this would be a military state protecting the country against the northwestern Indians. Before setting out for their new homes the settlers, or "associators" as they were called, were to have a meeting to form a constitution for the new state, and at this meeting "delegates" were to "be chosen to represent them in the Congress of the United States, to take their seats as soon as the new state shall be erected." The thirteenth article of the plan provides "That the state so constituted shall be admitted into the confederacy of the United States and entitled to all the benefits of the union in common with the other members thereof."

How much progress was made with the army plan we do not know. It was intended to get the opinion of officers and soldiers concerning it and then apply to Congress for the grant.¹ It seems likely that it was merged into the officers' petition,² which was a somewhat different scheme. The latter was dated June 16, 1783, and signed by 285 officers of the Continental line. Most of them were northern men, the majority being from Massachusetts. They asked for nearly the same land that the army plan contemplated, saying that "this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a Tract or Territory suitable to form a distinct government (or colony of the United States) in time to be admitted one of the Confederate States of America." The tone of this petition is decidedly more modest than that of the army plan. Notice the dependent, even "colonial" relation proposed before admission to statehood.

These schemes were of course suggestive. While there was no more immediate outcome than the formation of the Ohio Land Company,³ still it was probably because of the attention the question of new states was receiving that Mr. Bland, about the same time, brought the question before Congress. His motion not only provided for the soldiers, giving each one thirty acres for each dollar of arrearages due, but also proposed that the western country be laid off into districts not larger than two degrees in latitude. Any district was to be admit-

¹ Pickering to Hodgdon, Pickering's *Life of Pickering*, i, 457.

² The petition in full is found in Bancroft's *History of the Constitution of the United States*, i, 314; in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, i, 38, and Cutler's *Life of Cutler*, i, 159, cf. I. W. Andrews in *Magazine of American History*, August, 1886, p. 136.

³ Report of House Committee, quoted in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, i, 38.

ted into the union as a state, and on an equality with the original states, as soon as it reached a population of 20,000 male inhabitants. One-tenth of the land was to be reserved to the United States, the returns from which land to be appropriated to the payment of the United States civil list, erecting frontier forts and seminaries of learning, building and equipping a navy, "and to no other use or purpose whatever." If this scheme had been applied to the territory north of the Ohio river there would have been eight or ten states in that region. Requiring 20,000 resident males before admitting to statehood means a requirement of something less than a total population of 40,000, as the number of males is generally greater than that of the females in any new state. The Bland motion was referred to a committee, and seems to have gone no further.

The various propositions thus far seem to have been without definite outcome in the individual cases, but certainly they must have had some bearing on the system which was being gradually worked out, reacting perhaps on the public opinion whose trend they exhibit. Thus far the only congressional action concerning new states was in the resolve of October 10, 1780, promising that such states would be formed from ceded territory, of a size not over 150 nor less than 100 miles square, and admitted into the union with "the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other states." Congress concluded that the time had come to take some definite steps toward fulfilling this promise and so it was decided, October 15, 1783, to appoint a committee to draw up a plan of organization and government.¹ It was evidently this committee that reported the scheme which became the ordinance of 1784.

As a landmark in the history of state making the ordinance of 1784 deserves consideration second only to the ordinance of 1787. The scheme adopted in it has been called Jefferson's plan because he was chairman of the committee, the other members being Howell, of Rhode Island, and Chase, of Maryland. A great part of the territory west of the Alleghanies still remained unceded to Congress, but it was taken for granted that the states would give up their claims, and the whole region as far as the Mississippi was cut up into proposed new states. The odd parallels of latitude formed their northern and southern boundaries, while a meridian passing through the "lowest point of the rapids of the Ohio" divided the west into two tiers of states. Another through the "western cape of the mouth of the Great Kenawha" cut off the tier of the old states. It was intended that the smaller states of the central tier should hold the balance between those lying on the seaboard and those along the Mississippi—

¹ *Journals*, viii, 442.

at least that is the explanation given by Mr. Howell,¹ member of the committee. He explained, too, that while Virginia and North Carolina were cut off on their western sides by the Kenawha meridian, South Carolina and Georgia were to extend to that of the falls of the Ohio, "as their Atlantic coast falls off west." Jefferson's plan provided for fourteen new states. He gave rather strange names (*e. g.*, Cheronesus, Assenisipia) to ten of them, and it was thought that these ten would be organized first.²

Each of these districts was to hold its own convention, Congress appointing time and place, and adopt the constitution of some one of the old states, subject to alteration afterwards by the regular legislature. Between this time and the admission of the state a delegate might be kept in Congress with the right of debating, but not of voting. When any district attained a population of 20,000 free inhabitants a convention might be held, Congress appointing time and place as before, "to establish a permanent constitution and government;"³ but admission "by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states" should not be granted any state till it "shall have of free inhabitants as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original states."⁴ There was some discussion in Congress on the question of what vote to require for admission of a state. The first report provided that the consent of nine states should be necessary, but it was amended to read, "Provided the consent of so many states in Congress is first obtained as may at the time be competent to such admission."

So Jefferson's plan as embodied in the ordinance of 1784 finally passed Congress,⁵ and was a law of the land for three years. The settlers in the trans-Alleghany regions of North Carolina were encouraged by it to organize the government of Franklin, conceiving that with the territorial cession of that state the time had come for some of the state making contemplated. But when North Carolina repealed her act of cession Congress could give no encouragement to the Franklin movement and it was soon crushed out by the mother state. The ordinance of 1784 was as short lived as the state which it seemed to

¹ David Howell to Jonathan Arnold, Staples' *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress*, 479.

² *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 30, 1785, cf. Barrett, *Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787*, p. 20, cf. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, i, 165, who speaks of seventeen states, with eight of them named.

³ Merriam (*Legislative History of the Ordinance of 1787*, p. 12) says that 20,000 was the requisite number for admission, as does also McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, iii, 93.

⁴ About this time Delaware was thought to have a population of 37,000. Dexter's *Estimates of Population in the American Colonies*, p. 19.

⁵ The ordinance in full is found in *Journals* ix, 153.

call into existence, and in 1787 it was superseded by the far more famous ordinance of that year.

A desire for fewer new states seems to have been the main reason for setting aside the law of 1784. Soon after its passage Jefferson left Congress and Monroe became the leading figure in the movement to organize the west. He visited the western country and came to the conclusion that in the future there would be a diversity of interests between the east and west, making it desirable from the eastern point of view that the west should not get too much political power.¹ He thought, moreover, that much of the territory was so "miserably poor" that some of the districts would "perhaps never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy." He succeeded in getting the matter referred to a committee which made reports favoring the division of the territory northwest of the Ohio into not less than two nor more than five states. At one time William Grayson, of Virginia, moved a definite division of the territory into five states, but this was defeated by the opposition of the northern members. It was expected that the northwest would be settled from the south and have agricultural interests like the south.² It was considered that the political interests of the new country required many and small states; therefore the south, on the whole, supported that plan. Jefferson seemed much disappointed that his scheme of many small states had been set aside, and remonstrated vigorously in long letters from Paris to Monroe and Madison,³ fearing that this, together with the disposition to close the Mississippi, would produce "the severance of the eastern and western parts of our confederacy." However, three states, with a possibility of five, was the decision for the northwest, as made in the ordinance of 1787.

A committee appointed to report a form of temporary government, Monroe being chairman, proposed two stages of territorial government with chief officers appointed by Congress and a congressional delegate with half powers. This was adopted. The second stage was authorized in any district on acquiring "five thousand free male inhabitants of full age." The idea of the territorial delegate we have seen in most of the plans described above, beginning with that of Thomas Paine.

The question of the population requisite for admission to the union met with more discussion. The committee, under southern influence, proposed to retain that part of Jefferson's plan, *i.e.*, to require a popu-

¹ Monroe to Jefferson, Bancroft's *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, I, 480.

² Notice Madison's opinion, *Elliot's Debates*, III, 313.

³ *Jefferson's Writings* (Ford), IV, 333.

lation as large as the least numerous of the original thirteen states.¹ After some southerners on this committee had been replaced by northerners, a report was made raising the admission requirement to a population equal to one-thirteenth part of the citizens of the original states (to be computed from the last enumeration), besides the consent of Congress. But before considering the admission requirements laid down in the ordinance of 1787, let us review some of the propositions previously made on this point.

Silas Deane in December, 1776, suggested an admission requirement of something less than five thousand inhabitants.

Thomas Paine (1780) proposed admission in seven years after territorial organization, leaving open the question of numbers.

By the army plan (April, 1783) the new state was to come in at one jump under no condition of time or of numbers.

Mr. Bland's motion (June 5, 1783) proposed something less than a total population of forty thousand.

The officers' petition (June 16, 1783) was indefinite, merely proposing admission "in time."

Jefferson, at the head of a congressional committee, proposed (March, 1784) admission of a new state when its population became equal to that of the least numerous of the original ones, and with the consent of nine.

The ordinance of 1784 (adopted April 23) merely changed the nine states requirement to consent of so many "as may at the time be competent."

A committee under northern influence reported (September 19, 1786) that a population equal to one-thirteenth that of the original states be required, besides the consent of Congress.

And now we come to the final decision. The ordinance of 1787, referring to the new states proposed in the northwest, declares as follows:

"Whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government: Provided the constitution so to be formed shall be republican and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in any state than sixty thousand."²

¹ Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vii, 537.

² The ordinance in full is in *Journals*, xii, 85.

It would be interesting to follow the development of this system of forming and admitting new states in some of its later details, but with the adoption of the ordinance of 1787 and its ratification by Congress under the Constitution the outlines of the system were definitely established. The enabling act, a somewhat uniform set of conditions for admission, and other interesting outgrowths could be easily traced, but the purpose of this paper has been sufficiently accomplished perhaps without it, by showing the rise and development of the idea of new state organization, and a relation between the new governments and that of the United States culminating in admission to the Union as provided by the ordinance of 1787.

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THE COLUMBUS ATTEMPT TO SECURE THREE-CENT FARES.

The year has witnessed at least three notable evidences of a growing interest in the proper relation of the people to their street railways. One has been the widespread interest in the scandalous treatment of the question by the State of Pennsylvania and by its largest city. Another incident of note has been the able report of the Chicago Street Railway Commission, and a third has been the occurrences at Columbus, Ohio. Of the last, only, is it proposed here to write. For months the capital of the state was stirred to its depths by the agitation on the subject. The papers throughout the state often discussed it. The issues raised led to a political overturn in the city, and undoubtedly increased the majority cast for the present mayor of Cleveland at the same spring elections. As the situation contains lessons for the whole country and has never been fully presented outside of Ohio, a brief account may be here given.

The Columbus Railway Company came before the city council of that city in January, 1901, to secure an extension of its franchises for twenty-five years. The company possessed franchises on many streets, which were to expire at various periods during the next few years, and it claimed perpetual rights on other streets—and those the most important and profitable—although there was a serious doubt whether the latter franchises were valid. The company was not willing to concede its claims regarding the grants that were without time limit, but proposed, in the sought-for franchises, to secure rights on all the streets for twenty-five years, which would be binding even if the courts should declare that the so-called perpetual franchises are invalid. In return for all this, the company was at first willing to concede but little. Cash fares were to continue at five cents, but with larger privileges of transfer: the previous rates, six tickets for twenty-five

cents and twenty-five tickets for \$1.00, were finally, in response to a vigorous demand from the people, changed to seven tickets for twenty-five cents in the proposed ordinance. The average rate of fare in 1900 was 4.54 cents.

Before this concession was secured, Honorable Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, who had not at this time entered the race for the mayoralty of his city, visited Columbus at the request of a body of citizens, and addressed both them and the city council, opposing a new franchise for twenty-five years on such terms. When pressed to make as good an offer himself as he claimed the company could do, he made the city a remarkable proposition. He agreed upon the following: "(1) Three-cent fares with universal transfers. (2) A limit of profits to the owners of the road of six per cent upon actual cost. (3) That any earnings from the three-cent fare in excess of operating expenses and six per cent upon cost of construction must be applied toward retiring the capital and thus reducing the interest charge. (4) An option to the city to acquire the property at any time and to operate the road, paying therefor only the actual net cost at that time. (5) A reserved right to the city to reduce fares below three cents as fast as earnings would warrant, after paying six per cent on cost of construction; the six per cent in all cases to be figured only upon the cost of the property not yet retired." Thus whenever the cost of the road should have been returned to the owners, the city would have the option either to take the road for nothing or require the company to operate it at a rate of fare which would cover operating expenses only. Mr. Johnson claimed this would be less than two cents per passenger.

He proposed, as he explained at the mass meeting, that the council should assume that the franchises are invalid and have already expired on all the streets wherein there is at least a plausible reason for that contention. The city government should then order the old company off from those streets and give him a franchise on the basis of a straight three cent fare, higher wages, shorter hours, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, as good service as at present or even better, etc. The ordinance would also provide that he should have similar rights on the other streets for a period not to exceed twenty-five years from now. He would endeavor to secure possession by purchase at a valuation to be determined by arbitration. The next step would be for either Mr. Johnson or the city government to begin the tearing up of the rails on some street where it was plain that the franchise had run out. Of course it would not be intended to proceed further than to provoke the company to issue an injunction, and it might easily be arranged for this to be done before a single rail had been removed. Then the matter would be referred to the courts, the

operation of the railway would go on as now, and Mr. Johnson would bear the expense of maintaining his rights under the ordinance.

He says that he thinks final decision could be reached within two years, and attorneys of good standing scout the idea that it would take any such long period of five to ten years as is claimed by friends of the company. This experienced street railway magnate holds that, if the proposed new company won a victory in the courts with regard to possession of the streets upon which the rights of the old company are most doubtful, and which happen to be by far the best paying lines, the latter would soon be willing to sell out all its tangible property, and then to sell existing franchises at such a fair valuation as might be fixed by the board of arbitrators. Further, Mr. Johnson declared on his honor as a gentleman that he stood ready to put up any bond that the council might order for the full performance of the above and other terms of the ordinance that he presented. These terms included, as just observed, not only full guarantee of better treatment of employees than now, but also complete publicity of accounts and the ultimate turning over to the city, through sinking fund payments in either low fares or otherwise of all the profits of the enterprise after the retirement of the capital, which would never be allowed to have a return of over six per cent.

Mr. Johnson's ordinance, it was shown at the time, could be improved in certain minor particulars, especially with reference to the control by the city government of the number and heating of cars and other matters relating to the comfort and convenience of the traveling public, and he expressed himself as ready to incorporate such improvements. In all respects, however, his proposed ordinance was far superior to that of the existing company.

The friends of the Street Railway Company at once raised three objections to these very attractive propositions, as follows:

1. Mr. Johnson probably was ambitious to be the United States Senator from Ohio, and his proposition was for political effect. The reply that seemed to be conclusive was that while, in view of the past history of Senatorial contests in the Buckeye State it might be evidence of criminal intent or of bad character to run for the United States Senate, yet this was no particular concern of the people of Columbus, provided Mr. Johnson were willing, as he claimed, to furnish any bond that the city might require as evidence of his good faith. No one doubted his extensive and successful street railway experience and possession of sufficient capital to carry out his proposition.

2. It was again objected that he would inevitably lose money and throw up his contract, and at the same time hypnotize the city council into relieving him of any forfeit. This was too serious an indictment

of their own capacity for self-government to have much weight among the people of Columbus. With regard to the possibility of making money on three-cent fares, it was truly said that the street railway traffic in Columbus had grown 72 per cent in ten years, without any material reduction in fares, and would almost certainly grow at least 50 per cent in the next five years with a reduction of one-third in fares and the removal of the necessity of bothering with tickets. Such an increase of 50 per cent in traffic occurred in Toronto in the six years, 1893-99, without any change of fares, and with a cost of operation and taxes per passenger, for the 10,611,930 new passengers, of only \$112,728 per year, or 1.06 cents per passenger. This brought down the average cost for the entire number carried in this Canadian city from 2.53 cents in 1893 to almost exactly two cents in 1899. The operating expenses and taxes in 1899, in Columbus, were only 2.4 cents per passenger, with seven more miles of track than in Toronto, and with two-thirds as many passengers per year. Such increase of traffic as would come from a large reduction of fares would be in the short rides which are the most profitable to the company and in the more extensive use of all of the track, and would not call for increase of capital expenditure, save to a moderate extent in equipment. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that such a company, carrying 20,000,000 passengers for 2.4 cents per passenger, could carry another 10,000,000 for one cent per passenger. This would bring the average below two cents. Because of its level area and comparatively little snow and only moderate wages, the Columbus street railways can be operated at much less expense per passenger than in the smaller Eastern cities.

3. A third objection raised against Mr. Johnson's proposition, and the one that influenced many, was the enormous depreciation in the stocks and even the bonds of the present company that would result if it were not given a new franchise upon practically its own terms. The most careful investigation that the writer could make, aided by some excellent expert engineering assistance, showed that the road could be duplicated to-day for about \$25,000 a mile, or \$2,500,000. This low figure need not surprise any who are familiar with the official inventories of the Massachusetts companies. The admirable plant at Springfield, Mass., for example, whose output, cars, power plant, etc., seem to be superior, per mile of single track to those at Columbus, has been valued by the highest authority, the expert of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, at about \$33,000 per mile, and has capital stock and funded and other indebtedness of only \$30,000 a mile. On the other hand, the Columbus road is stocked and bonded for \$115,000 per mile. The way this arose is one of the most interesting and instructive chapters in stock watering. The road, in its present shape, was

practically organized in 1892 by the purchase for \$2,250,000 of the only road of any importance then existing in the city. The old road had cost scarcely one-half what was paid for it. The other half was payment for franchise, but bonds were issued to cover the entire amount of purchase, and on top of that, \$3,000,000 of stock was issued, partly as a bonus for the buyers of the bonds, or for the syndicate that floated them, and partly for the promoters. Thus the road started, not only with all its stock watered, but with half its bonds of the same character. The defence for this financiering was twofold: First, it was necessary to issue this stock in order to float the bonds, and it was necessary to float the amount of bonds actually issued in order to buy the road, but of course it was not necessary to buy the road, and hence the issue of either stock or bonds was not, in the last resort, obligatory upon the existing company. In the second place, it was urged that the stock was issued in order to obey the Ohio law that forbids the issue of any more bonds than there is stock. In other words, with charming *naïveté*, this company claims that it issued the watered stock out of its supreme desire to obey the existing law. A more delightful illustration of the willful perversion of the meaning of a statute could not be imagined. The framers of the Ohio law, of course, did not mean to compel stock watering, but to restrict it. The result well illustrates how corporation attorneys often play ducks and drakes with laws that are inconvenient to them, and then insist that they are eager to obey the law.

This Columbus company, which in 1892 had just paid \$2,250,000 for its property, took oath to the tax assessors through its vice-president, that it was worth only \$144,000. Even as late as May, 1899, when it had outstanding \$6,500,000 of par value of securities worth fully that in the market, the company declared under oath that its property was worth only \$417,074, and in 1900, shortly before it sought the new ordinance, it declared to the assessors that its physical property, apart from its franchise, could not be sold for \$375,000. Yet real estate in the city in the hands of private individuals is in general assessed for one-half of its value.

In order to buy out other roads that had started in the city, the company after 1892 issued other bonds with which to pay not only for physical property, but for franchises, or for improvements to take the place of old equipment which was discarded, but whose cost was not written off the capital account. Hence at the present time the bonds of the company amount to \$5,372,000, while through the same interesting obedience to Ohio law, as above described, the stock has been increased to \$6,000,000. Not one dollar of the entire stock has ever been paid into the treasury of the company out of the pockets of

the stockholders, while the bonds as indicated, are more than double the value of the physical property of the road. Yet not only have the bonds been sold at par, but the \$3,000,000 of preferred stock was selling at nearly 100 when a new franchise was sought, and the \$3,000,000 common stock was selling at over 35. The entire value of this stock represented not the worth of their existing franchises, but the gamble of the investors that new franchises of enormous value would be soon freely given away by the city in return for very moderate concessions, as proved to be the case.

Mr. Johnson argued that the nearly 21,000,000 passengers carried in 1900 would increase to fully 31,000,000 within three or four years if the fare was reduced to three cents. He then held that the profit per passenger would be at least one cent, which would be equal to six per cent on over \$5,000,000, and with the prospect of still further increase long before the twenty-five years of the new franchise had expired, while he assumed that this \$5,000,000 would not only pay for the present structural value of the old plant, but would pay over \$1,000,000 for the value of any franchises they still possessed, and leave another \$1,000,000 for the improvement of the track, rolling stock and power plant.

The company, however, secured the passage of the ordinance it desired. Seven tickets for twenty-five cents, with universal transfers, were conceded. This would mean, if everyone bought tickets, an average of only 3.56 cents, and if three-quarters of the people bought tickets, an average of 3.92 cents. Columbus, therefore, has secured the lowest rate of fare of any city on the continent, although this is fully three-fourths of a cent higher than was offered by the present mayor of Cleveland.

When the ordinance extending the franchises came up for final passage in the city council, February 4, last, it was well understood that the council were determined to pass it. Rumors were rife of bribery, and threats of violence against those suspected of receiving the same were in the air. The then mayor, who believed in the extension of the old franchise, not only filled the lobby with police but had a militia company drilling overhead, and declared that it would remain there until the council had adjourned.

Since the passage of the ordinance cases have been instituted in the courts by one or more Columbus citizens to test the legality of the new franchise and of the claims of the company to perpetual rights on the most valuable streets. It is proposed to carry the suits up to the United States Court, if necessary, and the briefs that have been filed on both sides constitute perhaps the most exhaustive treatment of the legality of unlimited franchises that ever has been prepared. What-

ever the outcome, it is clear that the people would have been far better satisfied and their rights would have been far better preserved, had the law given the voters, on petition of a certain percentage, the right of approval or disapproval of the ordinance as it passed the council. The whole history of the case has been a great education to the people in the profitableness of these great franchises and the weakness of our city councils, as now organized, to cope properly with such matters.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

Superintendent of Water Works, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE STATE MILITARY PENSION SYSTEM OF TENNESSEE.

The maintenance of a military pension system in the United States is usually considered to be one of the functions of the Federal Government. But it is by no means an exclusive function. The national system provides only for the Union soldiers of the Civil War, and expressly bars from its benefits those who fought in the Confederate armies. For this reason, the individual southern states have very generally established pension systems for the aid of the disabled or indigent Confederate veterans among their citizens. Some of these systems are based upon provisions in the constitutions of the states concerned and others upon statutory enactments. In comparison with the heavy expenditures of the national government, the payments made by these states are small. But the considerable amount expended by some of the states in proportion to their resources is shown in the case of Georgia, which, in the years 1893 to 1900, paid out between four and five million dollars to Confederate pensioners.

A recent report (August 10, 1901) on the Confederate pensioners of Tennessee furnishes some interesting information with regard to the operation of the pension laws of that state. The present pension system of Tennessee owes its existence to a law of 1891. It is administered by a Board of Pension Examiners, consisting of the Comptroller and Attorney-General of the state and of three ex-Confederate soldiers "suggested by the Tennessee Division of Confederate veterans," appointed by the Governor, and holding office for two years without pay. This board has full and final power to hear and determine all applications for pensions, and to strike from the rolls at any time, after due notice and hearing, any names which may be improperly there.

Nominally, the Tennessee law provides for Federal and Confederate soldiers alike. But since it must appear that applicants "are not pensioners entitled to pension under the laws of the Federal Government or of any other state," the benefits of the act are in fact confined to Confederate soldiers. The national laws are more liberal

than those of Tennessee, both as to requirements and rates. Hence, all citizens of Tennessee who fought in the Federal armies look for pensions to the Federal system rather than to the state system. Applicants for pensions must also have been *bona fide* residents of the state for one year before making application, their characters as soldiers must have been free from dishonor and they must not be already in possession of a competency. Pensions are not allowed unless it clearly appears that the applicant's disabilities resulted from some injury received while engaged in the military service, and while in the line of duty, or in prison.

The law of 1891 provides for three classes of pensioners, as follows:

"1. For total disability, such as the loss of both arms, both legs or both eyes, or the use of the same, either in battle, skirmish, or on picket, or from sickness, exposure or other injuries received during the war, in prison or on the way home, \$25 per month.

"2. For partial disability, such as the loss of one arm and one leg, either in battle, skirmish, or on picket, or one of the aforesaid limbs lost in battle or skirmish, or on picket, and the other so disabled as to since render it useless or make amputation necessary, \$10 per month.

"3. For smaller disability, such as the loss of one leg or one arm, or the use of the same, either in battle, skirmish or on picket, or in prison, \$8.33 1/4."

The pensions allowed under this Act are payable quarterly. No arrears payment is allowed beyond the date of making application, and in no case for more than one year. If any pensioner acquires a competency sufficient for his support, ceases to be a resident of the state or dies, it is the duty of the Board of Pension Examiners to strike his name from the roll. In certain cases, applicants for pensions, having no families, are allowed a support in the Confederate Soldiers' Home in lieu of a pension. It is the duty of the board to withhold pensions from those who habitually waste the state's bounty in dissipation or other dishonorable manner. Where there exists a doubt as to the worthiness of a pensioner, or where charges have been preferred by reputable persons, the law directs the secretary of the Board of Examiners to visit the pensioner and to fully investigate his condition, both physical and financial, and to submit a report of this investigation to the board for appropriate action.

The recently published report on the Confederate pensioners of Tennessee contains the name of every man on the roll with the county of his residence. Objections to names improperly on the roll are invited by the Board of Pension Examiners from all parties interested. The board says: "The character of the Confederate soldiers and the stability of the pension law are involved in keeping the rolls free

from dishonor, and we urge that all parties in interest may transmit to us such information as will enable us to act justly and according to law—punish none through malice, nor reward any through sympathy.”

The number of pension applications filed to August 10, 1901, was 3,584. Of this number, 2,133 applications have been rejected or passed without final action, there are now 1,214 pensioners on the roll, 204 pensioners have died, sixteen have been sent to the Confederate Home, and seventeen have left the state. Of the pensioners now on the rolls, sixteen receive \$300 each per year, twenty-three receive \$120 per year and 1,175 receive \$100 per year. This makes a total annual expenditure by Tennessee for Confederate pensions of \$125,060.

Many of the Southern states pay annually for Confederate pensions amounts considerably in excess of the above. Georgia, in 1900, expended for widows' pensions \$214,140, for pensions to invalid soldiers \$195,000, for pensions to indigent soldiers \$267,960, making a total of \$677,100. In the same year, Mississippi expended \$149,035 and Virginia \$135,000. In Louisiana, the annual pension expenditure is limited to \$50,000 and in North Carolina to \$200,000.

It is interesting, by way of comparison, to examine the statistics of Federal pensioners in Tennessee. In 1900, there were 18,241 residents of Tennessee on the national pension rolls, receiving during that year the sum of \$2,559,226.40. This was an average annual rate of about \$140 as compared with an average rate of \$103 paid by the state to the 1,214 Confederate pensioners. Tennessee, though a seceding state during the Civil War, has more pensioners on the Federal rolls than such states as Connecticut, Maryland, Minnesota, West Virginia and Nebraska. There is a somewhat greater number of pensioners in New Jersey and also in California than in Tennessee, but the expenditure in the latter state exceeds that in either of the other two. Among the seceding states, Tennessee ranks first in the number of Federal pensioners, Arkansas being second with 10,732. However, if the pensioners in Virginia and West Virginia should be combined for this purpose, Virginia would lead with 22,361.

It seems rather surprising that Tennessee, a seceding state, should have fifteen times as many Federal as Confederate pensioners. There are facts which will explain the presence of the names of many citizens of Tennessee on the national rolls. During the Civil War, a considerable portion of the people of the state remained loyal, especially in eastern Tennessee. This element contributed largely to the strength of the Union armies in the field. Since the war, there has also been an influx into Tennessee of many citizens of northern states who served in regiments from those states. Again, the Federal laws

are more liberal than the state laws in providing for widows and dependent relatives, and for soldiers whose disabilities are not of service origin. It is doubtful whether all of the above influences will account entirely for the discrepancy between the numbers of Federal and Confederate pensioners in the state. There seems to be strong probability that in the administration of the state law greater success is met in excluding from the rolls the names of persons whose claims are without merit or are of a fraudulent character. The comparative simplicity of the law, the publication and distribution of the list of pensioners, and better opportunities for the personal examination of applicants would all tend toward this end. Though not as liberal as might be advisable, the Tennessee law seems to be a reasonable disability provision, carefully administered, and, in many respects, typical of what is being done throughout the South for the ex-Confederate soldiers.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

George School, Pa.

ABUSES IN THE GRAIN TRADE OF THE NORTHWEST.

During the past three summers I have spent several months in the grain region of North Dakota, and have taken occasion to investigate the charges which have been freely made for many years that the farmers of the northwest were systematically defrauded by the elevator companies. I find that these charges of unfair dealing are, in the main, well grounded.

The farming industry of the northwest has been established upon a basis of borrowed money. The land was generally given away by the government, but for buildings and machinery the homesteader turned to the money lender. Owing to the uncertainties of his industry, confined almost entirely to a single crop, and also because of the high rates of interest charged, the amount of money which could be borrowed by any one man, was, in relation to his need of capital, insufficient. In general the farmers have been able to house their families and their stock, but shelters for machinery and storage for grain have not yet been provided, save in a few cases. The difficulty in erecting buildings arises not only from the lack of capital but from the high price of lumber.

In the early days of the grain industry, wheat was heaped up by the railroad tracks until cars could be furnished. The farmers had no storage and the railroads were forced to provide storage facilities at all the way stations to keep the grain from spoiling. Large elevator companies in connection with railroads were organized with headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and hundreds of branch elevators were built which now provide adequate facilities for storing

all grain brought to them, and which also buy grain, by grade, and pay cash for it. There is no pressure brought to bear upon the farmers to force them to sell to the elevator companies. They have the option of storing their grain with the local elevator and of shipping it to Minneapolis, where it will be graded and sold according to the state inspection. Few farmers, however, are in position to wait for the result of an extended transaction of this nature. They need money to pay interest, wages and store bills. The storekeeper who has trusted them for six months is clamoring for his money. The nomadic labor force is anxious to get back to Chicago, and the local bank has an agent on the ground to look out for its interests. Under this three-fold pressure for money, the needy grower must sell his wheat immediately.

The selling price is based on the current price at Minneapolis, but the grade depends on the say of the local elevator man. No. 1, Northern Spring, on October 2, sold at Minneapolis for $67\frac{3}{4}$ c.; No. 2 for $64\frac{3}{4}$ c, and No. 3 for $61\frac{1}{4}$ c.; rejected for 58 c. The price paid, it is evident, varies greatly with the quality of the wheat as indicated by the grade. It is in this grading by local representatives of the large elevator companies where the farmer receives unfair treatment. A farmer drives up with a load of wheat, the elevator man looks at it, and remarks that it is "a little off color," or he tests it and says that "it won't weigh up to No. 1." He offers to buy the wheat as No. 2, or often as No. 3. The farmer may be reasonably certain that his wheat should grade No. 1, but he has no alternative but to accept the offer of the elevator man. He has no place in which to store his grain. His various creditors are pressing him for immediate payment, and he must have money at once. With all this pressure upon him he says to himself: "What's the difference? It's only a matter of a few cents a bushel," and sells his wheat on the elevator man's terms.

That the example just given is typical of conditions throughout the more recently settled portions of the northwest the writer is fully satisfied. It is of course not warranted to charge the grain buyer with consciously defrauding the farmer. He probably does no more than to give himself invariably the benefit of every doubt. But in the grading of wheat, a judgment which can be based upon no fixed standards, and which depends almost wholly for its accuracy upon the fair and unbiased mind of the inspector, it is clear that doubts are always arising. In illustration of the largeness of the opportunity for partisan and unfair dealing which the looseness of the standards of inspection present, I offer the following description of the various grades of spring wheat, recognized by the Illinois Railroad and Warehouse Commission:

No. 1, Spring.—Must be sound, plump and well cleaned.

No. 2, Spring.—Must be sound, reasonably clean and of good milling quality.

No. 3, Spring.—Includes all inferior, shrunken, dirty spring wheat, weighing not less than fifty-three pounds to the bushel.

With such a wide latitude of judgment, it is nothing strange that the elevator man should almost invariably discriminate against the farmer to the advantage of his company or himself. An actual illustration of this unfair treatment which came under my own observation is of interest. During the month of August, a farmer living near Fargo, North Dakota, hauled several loads of wheat to a local elevator. His grain was of good color, but light in weight, owing to the small size of the kernels. The buyer would only receive it as "rejected" wheat, a grade lower than No. 3. Not being pressed for money, the farmer decided to ship his grain for his own account. He also shipped another lot which the elevator graded No. 3. In all he shipped nearly five thousand bushels, and received No. 2 prices for all except one of the eight cars, and this sold for only one cent per bushel under the No. 2 price. On 5,000 bushels the difference between No. 2 and No. 3 prices, in last August, was \$282.75, which would have gone to the elevator company, had this farmer been circumstanced as are most of his neighbors.

The elevator companies also make large profits by judicious "mixing" of different grades. An elevator, for example, can mix an extra good grade of No. 2 with a little of No. 1, and make it all go No. 1. Again, No. 3 can be mixed with No. 2 to make the entire lot grade No. 2. An employee of an elevator company remarked in my hearing, "The secret of the trade is to know how much poor wheat a bin of good wheat can stand, without changing the grade." The elevator companies draw their supplies from such a large territory that many varieties of grain are at their disposal for mixing. This, however, is not a matter which directly concerns the farmers, but is between the state inspectors and the elevator companies. So far as the farmers are concerned, to recur in conclusion, to their peculiar grievance of undergrading by the local elevators, this is an evil which can only be remedied as the growing wealth of that section makes them more independent of creditors, increases the number and size of farm storage bins, and frees the grain grower from his present bondage to the elevator companies. The experience of the Dakota farmer shows the wisdom of the general practice throughout the West, which secures an impartial inspection and grading of grain by assigning that duty to public officials.

Meadville, Pa.

LEWIS WALKER, JR.

PERSONAL NOTES.

University of Arkansas.—Professor S. J. McLain was appointed in June to investigate complaints which have arisen in Canada in reference to alleged excessive and discriminatory freight and passenger rates. He spent the summer engaged in this investigation and is now preparing a report for the Department of Railways and Canals. The scope of his instructions covered a report on the question of the advisability or otherwise of establishing a railway commission in Canada to deal with the matters complained of. In 1899 Professor McLain prepared a report which was presented to the Minister of Railways and Canals, with reference to the working of railway commissions in the United States and England. A personal note relating to Professor McLain appeared in the *ANNALS*, September, 1899,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Canadian Railways and the Bonding Question.*" *Journal of Political Economy*, 1899.

"*The Teaching of Civics.*" *Arkansas School Journal*, 1900.

"*The Study of Economics.*" *The Ozark*, 1900.

"*Bank Note Circulation in the United States.*" *Proceedings of the Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1900.

"*Evolution of Banking.*" *Proceedings of Northwest Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1900.

"*Federal Regulation of Railways in the United States.*" *Economic Journal*, 1900.

"*State Regulation of Railways in the United States.*" *Ibid.*, 1900.

"*The Railway Policy of Canada, 1849-1867.*" *Journal of Political Economy*, March and June, 1901.

"*The Use of Credit Instruments in Business in Arkansas.*" *Proceedings of the Arkansas Bankers' Association*, 1901.

Brown University, Providence, R. I.—Professor William Macdonald, of Bowdoin, has been called as Professor of History at Brown University to succeed Professor J. Franklin Jameson. A personal note relating to Professor Macdonald will be found in the *ANNALS* for November, 1893,² since which time he has been a frequent contributor to "*The Nation*," "*New York Evening Post*," "*The Forum*," and other periodicals. He published an article on "*The French Canadians in New England*" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for April, 1898. He has been chairman of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association since the

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 220.

² Vol. iv, p. 457.

creation of the commission in January, 1900. He has edited "Johnston's High School History of the United States" and published the following books:

"*Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606 to 1775.*"

"*Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776 to 1861.*"

Bryn Mawr College, Pa.—Mr. Alvin Saunders Johnson has been appointed Reader in Economics. Mr. Johnson was born at Homer, Dakota County, Nebraska, December 18, 1874, and received his early education in the public schools of that place. He studied also at the Latin School of the University of Nebraska and at the University of Nebraska, graduating in 1897 with the degree of A. B. and taking the degree of A. M. at the same university in 1898. He was a student at Columbia University from 1898 to 1901.

Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.—Professor John Franklin Jameson, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed Professor of History at Chicago University. Professor Jameson was born near Boston, Mass., September 19, 1859. His early education was received at the public schools of Boston and at the Roxbury Latin School. He entered Amherst in 1875, graduating with the degree of A. B. in 1879. He then entered Johns Hopkins University, from which institution he took the degree of Ph. D. in 1882. He received the degree of LL. D. from Amherst in 1898. Professor Jameson served as Assistant and later as Associate in History at the Johns Hopkins University from 1882 to 1888, and was Professor of History in Brown University from 1888 to 1901. He has been the managing editor of the "American Historical Review" from its beginning in 1895 to 1901, and was the Chairman of the Historical Manuscript Commission of the American Historical Association from its beginning in 1895 to 1899. He has been a member of the Council of the American Historical Association since December, 1900. Among the more important books which Professor Jameson has published are the following:

"*Willem Usselinx, Founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies.*" 1887.

(Editor.) "*Essays on the Constitutional History of the United States.*" 1889.

"*History of Historical Writing in America.*" 1891.

"*Dictionary of United States History.*" 1894.

College Settlements Association Fellowship.—At the last annual meeting of the College Settlements Association the Association decided to establish a fellowship for research and investigation. The matter was left in the hands of a committee composed of Miss Emily

G. Balch, of Wellesley College, chairman; Mrs. Herbert Parsons, New York City, and Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of the University of Pennsylvania. The conditions attached to the fellowship were that the appointee should reside at a settlement approved by the committee, and should work under the direction of the committee and of the Head Worker of the settlement thus chosen. Furthermore, that a year should be devoted to the study of some problem related to settlement work. The fellowship has been awarded to Miss Mary Buell Sayles, who has chosen to take up residence at Whittier House, Jersey City. Miss Sayles is a graduate of Smith College, Class of 1900; has been a resident of Whittier House; has had practical experience in philanthropic work in the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, and was a student during the past summer at the Summer School of Philanthropy under the auspices of the New York Charity Association Society. Her investigation will centre in a study of the housing conditions of the poorer classes in three or more districts of Jersey City. The interest which is taken in this investigation extends beyond the limits of settlement work and Dr. McGill, the Health Officer of Jersey City, has appointed Miss Sayles Deputy Health Inspector, which will give her official rights in carrying out her investigations. Miss Sayles' past work has been exceptionally thorough and her qualifications for the task she is about to undertake are many. She was selected by the committee from a large number of applicants, many of whom were college graduates and also well qualified for the particular work which they proposed. The need for a study of the conditions existing in Jersey City, and the exceptional co-operation in such work which is promised by the various agencies in Jersey City, together with Miss Sayles' peculiar qualifications, make this choice of the committee one which promises good results.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.—Mr. Walter Hammond Nichols has been appointed Professor of History and Political Science. Professor Nichols was born at Chicago February 19, 1866. He received his early education at Salt Lake Academy (Congregational), and at Salt Lake Collegiate Institute (Presbyterian) in Salt Lake City, Utah, graduating from the latter institution in June, 1887. He entered the University of Michigan in 1887, graduating with the degree of B. S. in 1891. During the years 1893 to 1895 Professor Nichols was a student at the University of Chicago, and in 1897-98 he was Assistant in History at the University of Colorado, and from February, 1900, to June, 1901, was again a student at Columbia University, during which time he worked on historical manuscripts from the State Library at Albany under the direction of Professor H. L. Osgood, of Columbia University, a member of the Historical Manuscript Commission of the

American Historical Association. He was also Secretary of Teachers' College, Columbia University, from June, 1898, to February, 1900. Professor Nichols is a member of the American Historical Association and an active member of the National Educational Association. He is at present at work on a monograph on "New York as a Royal Province During the Reign of George the Second."

Columbia University.—Dr. H. A. Cushing has been appointed Lecturer in History and Constitutional Law. A note relating to Dr. Cushing was published in the ANNALS for September, 1896,¹ in which year he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University. He has since graduated (1901) with the degree of LL. B. from the Columbia Law School and is a member of the New York Bar. He published in 1896 "A History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts," and has now in preparation as editor a volume of the writings of Samuel Adams, which will be published by the Putnams.

Mr. Milo Roy Maltbie has been appointed Prize Lecturer in Administrative Law and Municipal Government. Mr. Maltbie was born at Hinckley, De Kalb County, Ill., April 3, 1871, and received his early education at the Hinckley public schools. He entered Upper Iowa University in 1888, graduating from that institution with the degree of Ph. B. in 1892. He then entered Northwestern University and took the degree of Ph. M. in 1893 and the degree of Ph. D. at Columbia University in 1897, at which latter institution he had been a student during the two academic years 1895 to 1897. From 1893 to 1895 Doctor Maltbie was Professor of Mathematics and Political Economy at Mount Morris College, Illinois. During the period of his studies at Columbia University he was Fellow in Administrative Law. He is now secretary of the Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, New York, which position he has held since 1897, at which date he became also editor of Municipal Affairs. He was a Lecturer on Government at Brooklyn Institute in 1897 to 1899, and Lecturer on Municipal Government for the Board of Education of New York City from 1897 to date. Doctor Maltbie was awarded the Dewey Prize of \$100 at Northwestern University in 1893, and the Cushing Prize of \$100 for work on Municipal Government at Northwestern University in 1893. He is a member of the American Economic Association and of its Council and of the Society for Checking Abuses of Public Advertising (London), of the Municipal Arts Society, New York City, and of the Social Reform Club of New York City. Among Doctor Maltbie's recent publications are the following:

¹ Vol. viii, p. 353.

"*The Effects of Central Administrative Control in England.*" Chapter VI in Goodnow's *Municipal Problems*.

"*English Local Government of To-day: A Study of the Relations of Central and Local Governments.*" Vol. IX, No. 1. Columbia University Studies, pp. 296, 1897.

"*The English Local Government Board.*" Political Science Quarterly, June, 1898.

"*Municipal Functions.*" 8vo, 220 pp. Municipal Affairs, December, 1898.

"*Recent Municipal Progress in London.*" *Ibid.* June, 1898.

"*Water Supply of London and Philadelphia.*" *Ibid.* June, 1899.

"*Municipal Socialism in America.*" Labor Annual for 1900.

"*Municipal Tramways of Glasgow.*" Municipal Affairs, March, 1900.

"*Lighting in Great Britain.*" *Ibid.* September, 1900.

"*Street Railway Franchises.*" Report of Chicago Street Railway Commission, 1900.

"*Cost of Government in City and State.*" (New York.) *Ibid.* December, 1900.

"*Municipalities and Vice.*" *Ibid.*

"*Municipal Political Parties.*" Pro. National Municipal League, 1900.

"*Street Railways of Chicago.*" Municipal Affairs, June, 1901.

Iowa State University.—Mr. Simeon E. Thomas has been appointed Assistant Instructor of Political Science. Mr. Thomas was born in Muskingdom County, Ohio, February 6, 1872, and received his early education in the public schools of Kansas and West Virginia. He studied at Upper Iowa University from 1894 to 1898, receiving the degree of Ph. B. from that institution in 1898 and the degree of A. M. from Iowa State University in 1901. He was Fellow in Political Science in Iowa State University in 1900-01. His thesis for the Master's degree, which will be published shortly, is on "Federal Legislation Concerning Alcoholic Spirits 1789 to 1860." Mr. Thomas is a member of the Political Science Club of Iowa State University and of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Johns Hopkins University.—Sidney Sherwood, Associate Professor of Economics in the Johns Hopkins University, died after a brief illness at Ballston, N. Y., August 5, 1901. While spending a part of his vacation on a farm he accidentally cut his right hand. Blood poisoning ensued, which led to fatal results in spite of the best medical aid. He was buried at Cornwall-on-the-Hudson, where for many years he maintained a summer home.

Dr. Sherwood was born at Ballston, May 28, 1860. He graduated

from Princeton College in 1879, then entered Columbia University, where he studied law and afterwards practiced that profession in New York City. Having become interested in economic questions he entered the Johns Hopkins University in 1888 in order to pursue advanced studies under Professor Richard T. Ely, and History under Professor H. B. Adams. Dr. Sherwood continued there until 1891 when he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and was called at once to the University of Pennsylvania as Instructor in Economics. In 1892, Dr. Sherwood returned to Baltimore, having been appointed Associate in Economics; in 1895 he was made associate professor.

Professor Sherwood was a man of modest demeanor, but beneath his quiet manners he revealed most amiable as well as most substantial qualities. To his intimate friends he was the personification of reliability and common sense. As a teacher and writer he gave evidence of solid attainments and well-balanced judgment. As a member of the American Economic Association his services and advice were made available on important committees. His contributions to the literature of economics were numerous. His most extensive single work is "The History and Theory of Money," published in 1891 and 1893. The economics of money and commerce was his favorite topic in his courses of University lectures. Only recently he spent several months in Germany studying again the banking system of that country. Important articles have been published on these and other subjects in the economic journals. Nor should one omit to name the numerous dissertations written by his students to whom he was the inciting cause and guiding hand. The publications of the Johns Hopkins University, the periodical press and the book lists are witnesses to valuable services in this direction.

Professor Sherwood was in the prime of his powers and looked forward to a long period of activity, but when informed of the fatal nature of the attack accepted the inevitable with philosophical calmness.

In 1891 he was married to Miss Mary A. Beattie, of Cornwall, who survives him with their five children.

Some of the more important of Dr. Sherwood's publications are as follows :

"*The Relation of University Extension to the University of the State of New York.*" New York Mail and Express, June 20, 1891.

"*Syllabus of a Course of Twelve Lectures on the History and Theory of Money.*" University Extension Lectures, Philadelphia, No. 34, 1892.

"*The Rates Question in Recent Railroad Literature.*" ANNALS of American Academy, July, 1892.

"*Bastable's Public Finance.*" ANNALS of American Academy, September, 1892.

"Ross' Sinking Funds." ANNALS of American Academy, November, 1892.

"University of the State of New York: Origin, History and Present Organization." Regents' Bulletin, No. 11, January, 1893.

"Rogers' Industrial and Commercial History of England." ANNALS of American Academy, September, 1893.

"The American Bankers' Association: Its Origin, its Work and its Prospects." Proceedings of Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Bankers' Association, New York, 1893.

"The History and Theory of Money." Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 8vo, 1893.

"The Nature of the Mechanism of Credit." Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1894.

"University Extension as a Method of Research." University Extension, May, 1894.

"Shirres' Analysis of the Ideas of Economics." ANNALS of American Academy, July, 1894.

"Money in Legislation." The Chautauquan, January, 1896.

"An Alliance with England the Basis of a Rational Foreign Policy." The Forum, March, 1896.

"Smart's Studies in Economics." ANNALS of American Academy, March, 1896.

"Taussig's Wages and Capital." Ibid., November, 1896.

"Banking Reform." Review of Reviews, January, 1897.

"The Philosophical Basis of Economics." ANNALS of American Academy, September 5, 1897.

"The Function of the Undertaker." Yale Review, November, 1897.

"Tendencies in American Economic Thought." Johns Hopkins University Studies, Fifteenth Series, No. 12.

"Davidson's Bargain Theory of Wages." ANNALS of American Academy, May, 1898.

"Pantaleoni's Pure Economics." Journal of Political Economy, September, 1898.

"Over-sea Expansion from an Economic Point of View." Johns Hopkins University News Letter, February 8, 1899.

"The New German Bank Law." Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1900.

"Influence of the Trust in the Development of Undertaking Genius." Proceedings of American Economic Association for 1899; also in Yale Review, February, 1900.

"The University of the State of New York." Washington Bureau of Education, Circulars of Information, No. 3, 1900.

"Masayoshi's Gold Standard in Japan." Political Science Quarterly, March, 1901.

Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.—Mr. Robert James Sprague has been appointed Professor of History and Economics. Mr. Sprague was born at Frankfort, Waldo County, Maine, January 19, 1868. He received his early education at the village school and at the East Maine Seminary of Bucksport, Maine. He entered Ohio Wesleyan University in 1892 and remained there until 1894. He then entered Boston University in 1895 and graduated from that institution with the degree of A. B. in 1897. He took the degree of A. M. from Boston University in 1899 and Harvard University in 1900, and the degree of Ph. D. of Boston University in 1901. Dr. Sprague taught Latin and mathematics at the Maine Seminary and Female College at Kent's Hill for one year, and has published a series of articles on the "Development of Southern Farms" in the *Boston Transcript* of May 25, June 1 and June 8, 1891.

Leland Stanford.—Dr. John Julius Halsey has been appointed Acting Head of the Department of Economics and Political Science at Leland Stanford Junior University, having been granted a year's leave of absence from Lake Forest University. He was born November 23, 1848, at Louisville, Ky., and received his early education at private schools in Chicago and in the old University of Chicago, which institution he attended from 1865 to 1870, taking the degree of B. A. in 1870. During 1870-71 Dr. Halsey was tutor in the Old Chicago University; Abstract of Title Maker, Chicago, from 1872 to 1875, and in 1873 received the degree of M. A. from Chicago. From 1875 to 1878 he was actively engaged in journalism. He then became Professor of Rhetoric and English in Lake Forest University, which position he held until 1881. From 1881 to 1889 he was Professor of English Literature and Political Science, and from 1889 to 1901 Professor of Political and Social Science at the same University. He was Acting President of Lake Forest University from 1895 to 1897 and Dean of the Faculty from 1899 to 1901. Dr. Halsey is a member of the American Historical Association and of the American Economic Association. He was a writer for *The Dial* from 1887 to 1900, during which time he contributed many signed and unsigned articles.

University of Michigan.—Professor Edward D. Jones accepted in June a call to the Assistant Professorship of Commerce and Industry at the University of Michigan and entered upon his duties in September. The professorship was established in connection with the course in Higher Commercial Education recently inaugurated in that university. A note relating to Professor Jones' past activities and academic work was published in the *ANNALS* for November, 1900.¹ During February and March, 1901, he delivered a course of fifteen

¹ Vol. xvi, p. 450.

lectures at the University of Michigan on the Industrial Resources of the United States. Since that time he has published a number of articles in *Leslie's Weekly*, treating of the leading industries of the United States. He has also published in the *Current Encyclopedia*, July number, 1901, an article on the Petroleum Industry.

National Conference of Charities and Correction.—Mr. Homer Folks was elected general secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction last May, and assumed the duties of that position on October 1. Mr. Folks was born February 18, 1867, at Hanover, Jackson County, Mich. He graduated from Albion College, Michigan, in 1889, and from Harvard University in 1900, receiving the degree of B. A. In August, 1890, he became general superintendent of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, with headquarters at Philadelphia. In February, 1893, he resigned this position to accept the secretaryship of the New York State Charities Aid Association, which position he still holds. In 1897 he was elected a member of the First Municipal Assembly of Greater New York from the twenty-ninth assembly district, on the citizens' union ticket, for a term of two years. In 1899-1900 he was a special agent of the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition, to assist in securing an exhibit on the subject of Charities for the Paris Exposition. In April, 1900, at the request of General Leonard Wood, Military-Governor of Cuba, he spent six weeks in Cuba studying the public relief of that island. He drew a Charities Law which was enacted in July, 1900, creating an Insular Department of Charities, establishing state institutions for dependent, destitute and delinquent children, and the insane, and a Bureau for Placing Children in Families. This bureau was organized under his personal direction, and has succeeded in reducing the number of children in orphan asylums from some five thousand to less than two thousand; some twenty-five orphan asylums were closed altogether; the plan of granting subsidies to private institutions has been practically discontinued, and the practice of assisting and caring for destitute children in Cuba now approximates that of the most progressive American states.

Mr. Folks has been, for several years, an assistant editor of the *Charities Review*, a member of the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. He has written:

"*A History of the Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children in the United States*," published in the *Charities Review*, November, 1899, to July, 1900, and now being published in book form by the Macmillan Company.

"*Child-Saving Work in Pennsylvania*," contributed to the report of the Committee on Dependent Children to the National

Conference of Charities and Correction, 1893; press of George H. Ellis, Boston.

"*Family Life for Dependent and Delinquent Children*," two addresses before the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, Chicago, 1893. Published in Proceedings by the Johns Hopkins Press, and reprinted by the author.

"*Some Developments of the Boarding-out System*," Charities Review, March, 1893.

"*Annual Reports of Child-Caring Agencies*," published in Lend-a-Hand, October, 1893, re-printed by the Conference of Child-Helping Societies, Boston, Mass.

"*The Care of Dependent Children*." Address at annual meeting of Baltimore Charity Organization Society, published in the annual report of the society for 1894.

"*The Removal of Children from Almshouses in the United States, 1894*." Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction.

"*State Supervision of Child-Caring Agencies, 1895*." Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction.

"*Why Should Dependent Children be Reared in Families Rather Than in Institutions?*" Address before Convention of Superintendents of the Poor of the State of New York, 1895, published in the Proceedings.

"*What Should be the Relations Between a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Child-Saving Agencies?*" An address before the International Humane Congress, Chicago, 1893, reprinted in the Altruistic Interchange, New York, 1897.

"*Reform and Public Charities*," published in the Outlook, March 6, 1897.

"*The City's Health—Public Hospitals*," published in Municipal Affairs, June, 1898.

"*Administration of Public Charities*." Address before League of American Municipalities, 1899, published in Proceedings.

"*What Brought About the New York System of Caring for Dependent Children—Do These Reasons Still Exist?*" Address before first New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1900. Published in Proceedings, and in the Juvenile Record, Chicago, June, 1901.

"*The Charities Chapter of the Greater New York Charter*," published in American Journal of Sociology, September, 1901.

University of Nebraska.—Mr. Walter Wheeler Cook has been appointed Instructor in American History and Jurisprudence at Nebraska University, and will have charge of the work in American

Constitutional Law, Administrative Law and Constitutional History of the United States. Mr. Cook was born at Columbus, O., June 4, 1873, was educated at the public schools of Columbus and of Chicago also at the State Normal School at Potsdam, N. Y., and at Rutgers Preparatory School at New Brunswick, N. J. He was a student at Rutgers College during 1890-91, and Columbia College 1891-94, graduating at the latter institution with the degree of A. B. in 1894, with the degree of A. M. in 1899, and with the degree of LL. M. at Columbia University in 1901. His university work was done at Columbia University in 1894-95 and at Jena, Leipsic and Berlin, 1895 to 1897, and again at Columbia University, 1897 to 1901. During the year 1894-95 Mr. Cook was Assistant in Mathematics at Columbia University, and during the years he studied there, 1895 to 1897, he was John Tyndall Fellow in Physics in Columbia University. He was again made Assistant in Mathematics in Columbia University from 1898 to 1901. He is a member of the New York Academy of Political Science, and has published recently an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1901, on "*How May the United States Govern the Philippine Islands?*"

New York University.—Professor Joseph French Johnson, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Professor of Economics. In addition to the work in Economics he will have charge especially of the work in Finance, and will have the general oversight of the other work in the New York University School of Finance and Accounting. Professor Johnson is a native of Massachusetts, although most of his early life was spent in Illinois. He is a graduate of Harvard College (Class of 1878), and was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. After graduation from Harvard he studied Political Economy and History for a year in Germany. Later he was a teacher in the Harvard School in Chicago. In 1891 he entered journalism and was actively engaged in that profession until 1893; at first with the "*Springfield Republican*" and then with the "*Chicago Tribune*" as its financial editor. In 1888 he established the "*Spokane Republican*," in Spokane, Washington. In 1893 he accepted a call to a professorship in the University of Pennsylvania. Among the more important papers published by Professor Johnson are the following:

"*The Silver Craze in the United States.*" *Economic Journal*, December, 1894.

"*Replies to the Interrogatories of the Indianapolis Monetary Commission.*" Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. 1898.

"*The Plan of the Monetary Commission.*" *ANNALS*, March, 1898.

"*The President's Civil Service Order of June 6, 1899.*" North American Review, November, 1899.

"*The Currency Act of March 14, 1900.*" Political Science Quarterly, September, 1900.

"*Syllabus of Lectures on Money and Banking.*" Washington, 1900.

"*Our Foreign Trade and Prosperity.*" North American Review, July, 1901.

Ohio State University, Columbus, O.—Mr. Theodore Clarke Smith has been appointed Assistant Professor of American History and Political Science. Mr. Smith was born in Boston, Mass., May 18, 1870. He received his early education in private schools and at the Roxbury Latin School. He entered Harvard University in 1888, graduating in 1892 with the degree of A. B. He took the degree of A. M. at the same institution in 1893, and the degree of Ph. D. in 1896. During the academic year 1894-95, Doctor Smith was University Fellow at the University of Wisconsin. He also studied at the University of Paris in 1896-97, and at the University of Berlin in 1897. During the academic year 1896-97 he held the Goodwin Memorial Fellowship at Harvard; he was the Instructor in History at the University of Michigan 1897-98; Instructor in History at Vassar College 1898-1900, and substituted one-half term for Professor Jameson at Brown University 1901, during which year he was also made assistant editor of the *American Historical Review*. He is a member of the American Historical Association, and was appointed a member of the committee on the Justin Windsor prize in 1900, and of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1901. Doctor Smith has published the following papers:

"*Free Soil Party in Wisconsin, 1895.*" Pp. 76. Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

"*The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest.*" The Topham Prize Essay for 1896. Published 1897. Pp. vii, 391. Harvard Historical Studies, No. VI.

"*Expansion After the Civil War.*" Pp. 24. Political Science Quarterly, September, 1901.

"*General Index to American Statesmen Series, 1900.*" Pp. vi, 473.

He has also published a number of book reviews in the Political Science Quarterly and in the American Historical Review.

University of Pennsylvania.—Mr. John Paul Goode has been appointed Instructor in Commerce in the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Goode was born at Stewartville, Olmsted County, Minn., November 21, 1862. He received his early education at Rochester Seminary, Minnesota, and entered the Univer-

sity of Minnesota in 1885, graduating from the same with the degree of B. S. in 1889. He was a student at the Harvard Summer School in 1894 and at the University of Chicago Summer School in 1895. He was appointed Fellow in Geology at the University of Chicago in 1896-97 and was a graduate student at the same institution 1898-99. He was also a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania in the academic year 1900-1901, taking the degree of Ph.D. at the latter institution in 1901. Dr. Goode was Professor of Natural Science at Moorhead State Normal School from 1889 to 1898 and Instructor in Physiography at the University of Minnesota during the summer term of 1896, also Instructor in Meteorology at the University of Chicago Summer School 1897 to 1900, and Professor of Physical Science and Geography at the Eastern Illinois State Normal School from 1899 to 1901. Dr. Goode is a member of the Minnesota Academy of Science, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and of the Geological Society of America. He has published the following papers:

"*An Item on Ballot Reform.*" The Nation, 1889.

"*An Explanation of the So-called Pseudo Aurora.*" Science, 1895.

"*An Inherited Blunder (On Icebergs),*" 1896.

"*The Piracy of the Yellowstone.*" Journal of Geology, 1898.

Mr. George Winfield Scott has been appointed Assistant in Political Science. Mr. Scott was born at Adams, Jefferson County, New York, August 25, 1874, and received his early education at the High School of Watertown, New York, after which he entered Leland Stanford Junior University, graduating in 1896 with the degree A. B. He pursued graduate studies at Cornell University from 1896 to 1898; at Chicago University 1898-99, and at Columbia University 1899-1900. He entered the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania in September, 1900, and is still pursuing legal studies.

University of Tennessee, Nashville, Tenn.—Mr. Charles W. Dabney has been appointed Professor of Economics. A personal note relating to Professor Dabney appeared in the ANNALS for November, 1899,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Washington's Work for Education.*" Proceedings of the Southern Educational Association for 1899.

"*Washington's University.*" The Forum, February, 1900.

"*Reciprocity as a Widener of Southern Farmers' Markets.*" Southern Farm Magazine, March, 1900.

"*Education and Production of Wealth.*" Manufacturers' Record, December 20, 1900.

¹ Vol. xiv, p. 352.

"*Southwest and Immigration from the Old States.*" Southern Farm Magazine, January, 1901.

"*Outlook for Cotton Manufacturing in the South.*" Manufacturers' Record, January 3, 1901.

"*The Improvement of our Common Schools.*" Report for the Winston-Salem Educational Conference, 1901.

"*Resources of the Appalachian Region.*" Manufacturers' Record, August 15, 1901.

"*Resources and Economic Conditions in West Virginia.*" Manufacturers' Record, September, 1901.

"*Economic Advantages for Manufacturing in the South.*" Manufacturers' Record, September, 1901.

"*Agriculture in the United States.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

"*Agriculture in Canada.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

"*Political and Economic Conditions in Tennessee.*" Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement.

Trinity College, Durham, N. C.—Mr. William Kenneth Boyd has been recently appointed Adjunct Professor of History in Trinity College. Professor Boyd was born January 10, 1879, at Curryville, Pike County, Mo., and received his early education in a private school near Asheville, N. C. He graduated from Trinity College with the degree of A. B. in 1897 and took his A. M. degree in 1898 at the same institution. He was awarded a scholarship in Columbia University for the academic year 1900-01. During the academic year 1897-98 Professor Boyd was assistant in History at Trinity College and Master in History and Latin at Trinity High School from 1898 to 1900. Professor Boyd is a member of the American Historical Association and has written the following papers:

"*William W. Holden,*" a study in reconstruction published in Trinity Historical Papers, series 3, pp. 75.

"*Ad Valorem Slave Taxation,*" an economic study 1858 to 1860, published in Trinity Archives for October, 1900.

Washington and Lee University.—Professor H. Parker Willis, who was recently appointed Professor of Economics and Political Science at Washington and Lee, has become a member of the editorial board of the *New York Evening Post*. Since January, 1899, the date at which a personal note relating to Professor Willis appeared in the ANNALS,¹ he has published two essays in the

¹ Vol. xiii, p. 94.

Sound Currency Series for 1899. (1) "The Monetary Reform in Russia," and (2) "The Austrian Monetary Reform," and in the same publication for 1901 an essay on "The Deposit and Clearing House System in Austria-Hungary." Among his larger publications is: "The History of the Latin Monetary Union," pp. 342, 1901, University of Chicago Press. Professor Willis has also been employed as an expert by the Virginia Association of Boards of Trade to draft legislation on railway control for the Virginia Constitutional Convention. He drafted the constitutional provision for a railway commission and a statute to accompany the provision.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.—Mr. Jerome Dowd has been appointed Lecturer in Sociology. A personal note relating to Mr. Dowd appeared in the *ANNALS* for September, 1893,¹ since which time he has published the following papers:

"*Charity Work in the South.*" Outlook, December, 1896.

"*Obstacles to Bimetallism.*" Bankers' Magazine, February, 1897.

"*Tolstoi on Art.*" Art Interchange, January, 1898.

"*Textile War Between the North and South.*" Forum, June, 1898.

"*Opportunities for Southern Women.*" Gunton's Magazine, September, 1898.

"*Cheap Labor in the South.*" Guntons' Magazine, February, 1900.

"*Factors of Civilization.*" Arena, March, 1900.

"*Paths of Hope for the Negro.*" Century, December, 1900.

"*Art in Negro Homes.*" Southern Workman, February, 1901.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.—Mr. Guy Stanton Ford has been appointed Assistant in History. Mr. Ford was born at Salem, Kenosha County, Wis., May 9, 1873. He received his early education at the public schools of Plainfield, Iowa, and at the Academy of Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa. He was a student at the Upper Iowa University in 1890-91 and at the University of Wisconsin from 1892 to 1895, taking the degree of B. L. from the latter University in 1895. He entered upon his studies as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin in the academic year 1898-99, and continued the same at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen 1899 to 1900, and at the Columbia University 1900-01. During the years 1895 to 1898 he was City Superintendent of Schools at Grand Rapids, Wis. He will take his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Columbia upon the presentation of a thesis, which is now in preparation, on "Hanover from the Treaty of Basel to the French Occupation, 1795 to 1803." Mr. Ford is a member of the American Historical Association.

¹ Vol. iv, p. 309.

GERMANY.

Berlin.—The death is announced of Dr. Hans von Scheel on September 27, 1901. Dr. von Scheel was connected for twenty-five years with the Kaiserlichen Statistischen Amte and for ten years was its director.

Dr. Hans von Scheel was born at Potsdam, Germany, December 29, 1839. He entered academic life as privat-docent of political science at Halle in 1867-68. From 1868-71 he taught at the Agricultural Academy at Proskau. From there he was called (1871) as full Professor of Political Science at Bern, Switzerland, where he remained until he entered the Imperial Statistical Bureau in Berlin in 1891.

He was a prolific writer; among his more important books and monographs are the following :

"*De Pecunie nomine ac natura quid senserint Romani et imprimis Jureconsulti.*" Halæ, 1864. Jur. Doktor-Diss.

"*De Corporis Juris civilis principiis æconomicis.*" (Habilitationsschrift), Halæ, 1867.

"*Die Theorie der Sozialen Frage.*" Jena, 1871.

"*Das Gesetz über die Einkommensteuer im Kanton Bern.*" Jena, 1874.

"*Erbschaftssteuer und Erbschaftsreform.*" Jena, 1877.

"*Eigenthum und Erbrecht.*" Berlin, 1877.

"*Unsire socialpolitischen Partien.*" Leipzig, 1878.

"*Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft am Schlusse des 19ten Jahrhunderts.*" Pub. of the Statist. Bureau. Berlin, 1900.

As Director of the Imperial Statistical Bureau Dr. von Scheel was the author of many reports, introductions and summaries published in connection with the statistical publications of his bureau. He also prepared the monthly Review of Foreign Trade, and the Quarterly Journal of Statistics of the German Empire. His chief magazine articles are noted in Conrad's Handwörterbuch, to which he contributed many articles, as also for Schönberg's Handbuch.

BELGIUM.

University of Liège.—Professor Edouard Van der Smisen has been recently promoted to Ordinary Professor at the University of Liège, where he has held the position of Extraordinary Professor in the Law Faculty since 1895.

Professor Van der Smisen was born January 18, 1865, at Alost, Flanders Orientale, Belgium. He received his early education from 1874 to 1878 at St. Joseph's College, Alost, and from 1879 to 1883 at St. Michael's College at Brussels. He entered the University of Louvain in 1884, taking the degree of Doctor of Political Science

and Administration in 1886 and Doctor of Law in 1887. He has also been a student at some of the higher schools in Paris and published a memoir on the subject of Population, which was awarded a prize by the Institute of France in 1891. He was appointed Chargé de Cours at the University of Liège in 1892, and promoted as noted above. Since 1898 he has also held the position of Professor at École de Guerre at Brussels and from 1892 to 1897 has been Adjunct Secretary of the Superior Council of Labor. In 1892 he was also one of the secretaries of the International Monetary Conference at Brussels. He is a member of the Société d'Economie Sociale and of the Société de Statistique of France, being a corresponding member of the latter. He is also a member of the Société d'Economie Sociale of Belgium and was President of that Society for the year 1900-01. He is also a member of the Société Scientifique of Belgium, and has been President of the Economic Section. Among the more important of Professor Van der Smissen's publications are the following:

La Population; les causes de ses progrès et les obstacles qui en arrêtent l'espor. Mémoire Couronné par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (Concours Rossi). One vol. in 8vo, de 561 pages. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 14, rue Richelieu. Bruxelles, Société belge de Librairie, 1893.

Dans la *Revue des Questions Scientifiques* (Belgique):

Octobre, 1891. Les Lois de Malthus (fragment inédit du mémoire couronné).

Juillet, 1892. De l'influence des doctrines de l'économie politique classée sur le socialisme scientifique.

Janvier, 1894. La question monétaire envisagée du point de vue théorique.

Octobre, 1898. L'étude du détail en économie politique.

Dans le *Moniteur des intérêts matériels* (Bruxelles-Paris):

Juillet, 1893. La crise monétaire.

Sept.-Oct.-Nov., 1898. Le Budget de la dette publique (en Belgique).

Juillet, 1899. Le taux de l'intérêt et la fonction économique de l'Épargne.

Oct.-Nov., 1899. Janv.-Févr., 1900. La question de l'alcool.

Mars-Avril-Juillet-Septembre, 1900. Essai sur l'amortissement de la dette publique.

Mars-Mai, 1901. Etudes sur le chèque et la compensation (En cours de publication).

Dans les *Annales des Sciences Politiques* (précédemment: *Annales de l'École libre des sciences politiques*, Paris). Septembre, 1898. L'état actuel des partis politiques en Belgique. Janvier, 1899. La loi belge

de 1898 sur les syndicats. Juillet, Septembre, 1900. La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique et les élections générales de Mai, 1900.

Dans la *Revue Générale* (Bruxelles):

Juin, 1889. L'Irlande économique et sociale en 1889.

Janvier, 1894. Les idées économiques d'Endore Pirmy.

Mars, 1898. Les Unions professionnelles devant la chambre.

Oct., 1899. La réorganisation des Tribunaux militaires en Belgique.

Mars, 1900. Nos billets de banque.

Introduction au Rapport général sur la participation de la Belgique à l'*Exposition universelle internationale de Paris en 1900* dans le groupe de L'ECONOMIE SOCIALE. Bruxelles: Alfred Vromant & Co., imprimeurs-editeurs, 3, rue de la Chapelle, 1901.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

"THE OLD PLANTATION: How We Lived in Great House and Cabin,"¹ by James Battle Avirett, describes in an entertaining way the life and customs of a large plantation in eastern North Carolina before 1860. The author is a son of the planter, whose life he so accurately and sympathetically depicts. He shows that the lot of the slaves on his father's plantation was a far happier one than "Uncle Tom's Cabin" would have us believe. He is convinced by a long study of the facts that the planters of the South were, as a rule, kind and humane in their treatment of their slaves. The work, though not a scientific one, is of great value and interest; its spirit is eminently fair.²

"THE LAND OF THE WINE" is the taking title of two handsome volumes from the pen of a well-known traveler in remote Madeira.³ This island, so out of the way, and so little known to us, has found a competent and sympathetic historian and geographer in Mr. Biddle, who has spent twelve years in collecting material for this work. The first volume is devoted to literary and descriptive matter, the second to more technical matters.

The story of the discovery of the island by Robert à Machin, a refugee from England, and the account of the courtship and marriage of Christopher Columbus, read like romance. The chapters devoted to sight-seeing and travel make a complete and thorough guide-book for intending visitors to the island. Every contingency is foreseen, from the choice of ocean routes from New York, to the price of pork and beans, or the hire of porters and carro. The picture that is painted of the beauties of scenery and luxuriance of vegetation, the balmy air and quaint customs of the people, make the place seem a paradise for invalids or as a winter resort.

The work is a splendid piece of bookmaking, type large and clear, paper of exceptional weight and velvet finish, and a very fine assortment of interesting illustrations in halftone, seventy-six of them full page. It is safe to say that the work will long remain the guide-book *par excellence* of the Madeiras.⁴

¹ Pp. 202. Price, \$1.50. New York, Chicago and London: F. Tennyson Neely Co., 1901.

² Contributed by Charles Lee Raper, University of North Carolina.

³ *The Land of the Wine*. By A. J. DREXEL BIDDLE, 2 vols. 8vo. Maps and illustrations. Pp. 267, 300. Price, \$7.50. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle, 1901.

⁴ Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode.

"THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES," ANNOTATED,¹ by Professor Edwin E. Bryant, Dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Wisconsin, is designed as a text-book. It is admirably adapted for this use. The clauses of the constitution are set forth in bold-faced type. These are each followed by comments of the author and excerpts from decisions bearing on the points raised, with citations to leading cases. The principal subjects discussed under each clause are set forth in italics. This typographical arrangement gives clearness of argument and emphasis to classification. No commendation of the work for its purposes could be better than its authorship, as Professor Bryant is an able teacher as well as constitutional lawyer. His case comment is clear and pointed. The course as outlined gives a well-rounded view of the constitution.

"INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION,"² by Prof. Carl Bücher, of the University of Leipzig, has been translated by Dr. S. Morley Wickett, of Toronto University. The translation is well done. The title of the work is somewhat misleading—suggesting a general treatise. In fact, it is a broad generalization of the history of industrial progress in Germany. Most of the treatise is devoted to economic theory with an attempt to construct a system of development from prehistoric times. His generalizations follow List, and the other national economists. It is too general for history, and too highly theoretical for science. His theory is entertaining, but does not compel acceptance either as explaining German development or for working hypothesis in economic research.

"THE STORY OF PAPER MAKING"³ gives to the general reader a brief, but interesting, account of one of our most important industries. The history of the early methods of paper making is well treated. The closing chapters give an entertaining description of modern methods of manufacture.⁴

THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, in its May publications, has brought out in 805 pages a valuable contribution to the financial literature of the colonial period. The author, Dr. Andrew McFarland Davis, in Part I makes the "Currency"⁵ of the Massachusetts Bay

¹ Pp. 418. Price, \$2.50. Published by the Democrat Printing Company, Madison, Wis., 1901.

² Pp. 393. Price, \$3.00. New York: Holt & Co., 1901.

³ By J. W. Butler. Pp. viii, 136. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: J. W. Butler Paper Company, 1901.

⁴ Contributed by W. F. Hamilton.

⁵ Pp. 473. Price, \$1.75. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

Colony the subject of his thesis, while Part II is devoted to "Banking." The work is well illustrated with photographic cuts of bills and forms in common use at the time. The volume throws much light on the whole financial situation of the time, both at home and abroad. Of special interest is the attitude of England shown toward banking in this country. This has a direct bearing on the causes of discontent which led to revolution.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP and direction of Prof. W. A. Dunning of Columbia University a number of monographs on reconstruction have appeared. The most recent of these is "*Reconstruction in Mississippi*," by Dr. James Wilford Garner. Dr. Garner has gathered his materials by painstaking research in the field. From official documents, from private letters and public correspondence, from newspaper files, from the remembrances of men and women who lived through the experiences of the carpet-bag régime, he has collected the facts of reconstruction and woven them into a story that both entertains and impresses the reader as being worthy of confidence. Much had heretofore been loosely written, much of partisan literature produced; this bears the stamp of reliability. The work will take a permanent place—will stand as a pillar in reconstruction literature.¹

THE TWO ESSAYS on Education and the Unknowable,² published in one volume, by Professor de Greef of the New Brussels University, sustain, respectively, the following two theses. First, instruction must constantly adapt itself to social conditions and strive to follow social evolution in such a manner that simultaneously with increased specialization of training in technique and science, social activity as a whole and the *relative* rôle of each specialty may never be lost sight of. Secondly, the progress of well-balanced education will result in an increased equivalence and appreciation of the most varied kinds of labor—collective concepts of the universe will be transformed, and our beliefs, instead of being mainly religious and metaphysical, will become positive and relative.

VERBECK OF JAPAN³ is a somewhat rambling sketch of the beginning and growth of Christian missions in Japan, of which Verbeck was the most powerful and influential pioneer. It is written in a sim-

¹Pp. 422, 13. Price \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

²*Problèmes de Philosophie Positive. L'Enseignement intégral—L'Inconnaissable.* By GUILLAUME DE GREEF. Pp. xi, 169. Price 3 francs. Paris: Schleicher frères, 1900.

³By WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS. Pp. 376. Price, \$1.50. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

ple, unpretentious style. Apart from a certain dryness in the chapters devoted to the genealogy of Verbeck, the book makes pleasant reading. It is for those interested in mission work that the book is written. The average reader's delight in the quaintness of Japan is almost entirely ignored.¹

PROBABLY THE MOST conscientious general account of mediaeval witchcraft and the inquisition, together with some explanation of the social causes which led to the rise and phenomenal spread of this peculiar aberration, is contained in Hansen's recent volume² in the collection published by the *Historische Zeitschrift*. It is a historical task of no mean importance to offer a satisfactory explanation of the dark shadow of mad persecution marking the same epoch as that which presented humanity with the renaissance, the reformation and the first magnificent results of the empirical sciences. Hansen's investigation has to do chiefly with the genesis of the belief in demons and witches, and, above all, with the problem of ascertaining through what circumstances it was possible for Christian culture, already a thousand years old, to give rise to such aberrations of intelligence and emotion among the authorities in church and state. The idea of witchcraft, lying at the basis of the great persecution, was by no means the simple product of popular phantasy, but was scientifically constructed and circumscribed, albeit with reference to popular superstitions. Its elements were evolved by the systematic theology of the mediaeval church; it was carefully defined by the criminal law of church and state, and summarized by the rules of procedure of temporal and ecclesiastical tribunals.

The basis for the legal prosecution and punishment of sorcerers and witches had already been prepared by the popular belief in demons when the Christian church began to direct the affairs of occidental humanity. The church accepted the most important of popular superstitions, namely, the possibility and actual existence of sorcery; the church codified this belief in its system of laws and dogmas, stamping and forbidding it as sinful worship of the devil. But, like the Roman state and the temporal authorities in the Germanic empires, it condemned the group of popular credences concerning nocturnal witch rides and the transformation of human beings into animals, and treated them as false. When, however, during the epoch of scholasticism, the church undertook to investigate theoretically the empire

¹ Contributed by Helen Smith.

² *Zauberwahn Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung*. By JOSEPH HANSEN. Pp. xv, 538. Price, 10 marks. München u. Leipzig, Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1900.

of demons, whose existence it had previously recognized, it was led by means of its own peculiar method to systematize the incoherent mass of demonology and make numerous concessions in favor of popular superstitions, which thus became part of its world-philosophy. It perceived, furthermore, a heretical element in the close relationship between sorcerers and demons, which was fantastically pictured by means of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the possibility of a contractual relation and sexual connection between human beings and Satan. Thus was the way prepared for the subsequent inquisition, when the ecclesiastical authorities secured the approval and collaboration of temporal powers, and the belief in witches and demons became so common and so deep-seated that neither catholicism nor protestantism, except in a few rare cases, disclaimed it.

The book is a fair example of the conscientiousness and thoroughness which so often characterize the historical investigations of German scholars.¹

COMBINING, IN A MANNER which seems so frequently to be the peculiar possession of French writers, all the charm of a polished literary style with the conscientious exactitude of a savant, M. H. Hauser's large, illustrated volume² on "Gold" leaves no aspect of the subject unconsidered. There are chapters on the chemistry of gold; its extraction; the gold production of California, Transvaal, Australia, the Klondike, the Guyanas and South America, Madagascar, India, Indo-China, Siberia and Hungary; the history of its industrial and artistic rôle and of its employment as money; and there is an interesting sketch of the legends which treat of its influence on mankind.

It appears that the Chinese, twenty-five centuries before the Christian era, made ornaments of gold. The laws of Manou established a relation between the value of gold and silver. The ancient Egyptians possessed numerous formulæ for gold amalgams which were transmitted mysteriously from generation to generation and regarded as magic. The early books of the Bible are full of allusions to gold. In the Homeric legends it is the precious metal *par excellence*. To capture the Golden Fleece, Jason and his companions ventured upon the tumultuous waves of the Euxine. According to the Germanic legends the "Rheingold" caused the outbreak of the conflict between the powers of the earth and those of the skies. Indeed, few subjects are older or more familiar. Yet what is gold? Can they who day by day

¹ Contributed by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, Bates College.

² *L'Or*. By H. HAUSER. Pp. 363. Paris: Librairie Nony et Cie, 1901.

handle immense quantities give an exact definition of it? Do they know its properties, wherein it differs from other metals, and whence it possesses that primacy which makes it rule the world? Do they know, above all, what a quantity of human labor, suffering and intelligence is incorporated in each yellow piece that passes through their hands, and how much effort has been necessary to extract that light, small coin from the quartz or sand in which it was hidden away? Do they know all the many employments of gold, its long and varied history and its rôle in life? This is what the author undertakes to tell us, plainly and interestingly, with the aid of a profusion of good illustrations.

The sections treating of the peculiar status of societies, like the Klondike, which owe their origin or chief impetus to the quest for gold, are of especial interest to the social psychologist.

PROFESSOR HELFFERICH'S recent lectures in Hamburg upon "Commercial Policy" have been published.¹ As the author tells us in his preface, he has not attempted to present anything new, but rather to popularize that which science has already given to the world. The purpose of the series of lectures is education, not agitation. Its scope is very comprehensive and is treated under the five-fold division of the importance of foreign commerce for modern economy, commercial systems and theories, the material (*mittel*) of commercial politics, Germany's commercial policy in the nineteenth century, and, finally, the actual questions of commercial politics. This last section, comprising three lectures on the present politico-commercial situation, the agrarian tariff duties and the problem of the industry state, is perhaps the most interesting and instructive. The writer is in sympathy with the modern tendencies in German economic development, and no recent writer has shown more clearly German agrarian absurdities. The style, lacking the involved sentences characteristic of so many German scientific writers, is pleasing, and the author has fulfilled in an eminent degree his task of presenting, in a popular yet scientific way, the present politico-commercial conditions of Germany.²

THE LATEST ISSUE of the J. M. Dent Company in the well-known series of *Temple Primers* is a carefully written treatment of "Prehis-

¹ *Handelspolitik: Vortraege gehalten in Hamburg im Winter 1900-01 im Auftrag der Hamburgischen Oberschulbehoerde.* By KARL VON HELFFERICH. Pp. 206. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1901.

² Contributed by Professor George M. Fisk, Tome Institute, Maryland.

toric Archeology."¹ It is a primer only from the point of view of its brevity. In matter and manner it is full grown, scientific and accurate. There are chapters on man's place in nature, on the elements of human culture, on the early and late stone ages, on Aryans and Semites, on pile dwellings, on the earliest use of metals in various lands, on the age of bronze, and on the Hallstatt and La Tène periods.

The volume is well supplied with halftone illustrations of weapons and other objects of primitive workmanship. The book is well printed, though the type is rather small. Herr Hoerne has done a commendable service not only to students beginning in this field, but to laymen, and to busy men in other lines, in making this terse and excellent summary.

THE RECENT EXPANSION of our international relations has aroused a new interest in the treatises on International Law and Diplomacy.² The period since 1870 was singularly barren of scientific research in this field but it is evident that we are again entering upon a period of scientific activity along these lines. Since the last edition of Wheaton's International Law American readers have not had a comprehensive hand-book to which to refer for guidance in the complex international questions of the closing decades of the century.

The first edition of Professor Lawrence's work, which appeared in 1895, received a warm welcome in this country, particularly as his conclusions were based mainly on English and American precedents. Professor Lawrence was singularly happy in his selection of the concrete instances illustrative of general principles and avoided confusing his reader by a great array of historical facts. The same method characterizes the third edition, which has been revised, and to which an appendix has been added containing a discussion of "Annexation of International Obligations," "Recent Cases of Intervention," "Power over Territory Leased by One State to Another," "The Pacific Blockade of Crete," "The Hague Conference," and "The Doctrine of Contraband of War and Continuous Voyages."

The work is in the main a discussion of general principles. For the historical material upon which these principles rest, the reader must have recourse to such exhaustive treatises as Calvo, Holtzendorf and Fiore. As a hand-book on the subject, especially for those who are beginning the study of international law, no better guide can

¹ *Primitive Man*. By DR. MORIZ HOERNE. Translated by James H. Loewe. Pp. x, 135. Price, 40 cents. New York: Macmillan Company.

² *The Principles of International Law*. By T. J. LAWRENCE, M. A., LL. D. Third Edition, Revised. Pp. 681. Price, \$3.00. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1900.

be found than the work of Professor Lawrence. The judicious use of material, the lack of violent partisanship in any disputed question, and the concise and unequivocal form in which conclusions are presented, all contribute toward leaving with the reader a definite impression as to the present status of the rules governing international relations.¹

THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'HISTOIRE ET DE GÉOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE,² a series of handy little volumes, each treating of the geography and general characteristics of the people of a particular country, thus far includes three numbers. The first of these, on the Gauls, is due to perhaps the most competent authority upon the subject, Professor Lefèvre, of the Paris School of Anthropology. The third, an attractively written booklet on China, by M. de Pouvoirville, does not approach the task of describing the Celestial empire with the careless, know-it-all manner so customary in books on this subject—especially those written by mere travelers through that vast country inhabited by one-fourth of the earth's total population. The author carefully points out the insurmountable difficulties in the way of reaching a just appreciation or an adequate and comprehensive knowledge of Chinese character. Recent events, however, make it imperative not to be totally ignorant of Chinese affairs. After chapters on the geography of the country, its soil and the racial characteristics of its people, some account is given of its political and social organization, its religious and legal systems, a brief resumé of its history and art, and, finally, the story of its relations with European powers. There are to be three other supplementary volumes on China, written by the same author.

"RICHARD CROKER,"³ by Alfred Henry Lewis, is a novel production—novel in style, novel in manner of treatment. Croker characteristics are told in Croker anecdotes; Croker wisdom is given in Croker sayings. The whole book is written in easy narrative. Speaking of the principle of organization that has made him a leader the author casually quotes: "No combination can be made where all are dishonest and each one knows it. The first element of leadership is honesty—perfect honesty. The honest man will prevail because other men will trust him. A rascal can trust an honest man; and a rascal

¹ Contributed by Professor L. S. Rowe.

² Published by Schleicher Frères, Paris, 1900, et seq. No. 1, *Les Gaulois, Origines et Croyances*. By ANDRÉ LEFÈVRE. No. 2, *Notre Globe*. By R. SIEURIN. No. 3, *L'Empire du Milieu*. By A. DE POUVOIRVILLE. Price of each, 2 francs.

³ Pp. xvi, 372. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Life Publishing Company, 1901.

can't trust a rascal. You might take one hundred men, ten of them honest and ninety of them false, and put them away on an island. Come back in two months, and, for the reasons I've given you, you'll find the ten men dominating the rest." While this is consistently portrayed as his leading motive in dealing with friends, in parrying his enemies he is shown to be mendacious, cunning and careless of his honor. The Richard Croker that rules the destinies of New York is described as a man of excellent personal habits, of deep sympathy for his fellows, but politic to the last degree—one who walks at the head of a popular movement but who never sets himself against it. Though a somewhat faulty attempt is made at literary fling, the story as told is a fascinating one.

THE LATEST VOLUME in the "Periods of European History,"¹ treats of the two centuries in which mediæval conditions came to an end and the states of modern Europe became prominent. It is the most useful volume in the series because it is the first successful attempt in English to give an accurate and concise account of the important events during this period, in all the different countries of Europe. The task is one of extreme difficulty, as no continuous line of evolution can be followed, no thread of unity can be detected. The chapters on "The Hanseatic League" and the "Renaissance in Italy" are especially readable; the latter is possibly the best in the book. The nineteen genealogical tables are very helpful.²

DR. MALTBIE'S work as editor of the report of the Civic Federation of Chicago upon "The Street Railways of Chicago," gives to the public the best exposé of American street railway finance now extant. The publication is a timely one. It serves well the citizens of Chicago at a time when the whole franchise question comes before them for settlement. It gives a broader bearing on problems that must be solved by other cities where the street railway plays an important part in municipal life.³

THIS NEAT LITTLE volume on the French Revolution⁴ is intended, so the author states in his preface, for the general reader. It is a revised edition of the work published by the Chautauqua Press in 1900. which was based on a series of lectures given by Professor Mathews.

¹ *The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273-1494.* By R. LODGE, M. A. Pp. xi, 570. Price, \$1.75. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

² Contributed by Dana C. Munro.

³ Reprinted from "Municipal Affairs." Pp. 160.

⁴ *The French Revolution.* By SHAILER MATHEWS. 297 pp. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.

The subject is divided into four periods: (1) *France at the Outbreak of the Revolution*; (2) *The Beginnings of the Revolution*; (3) *The Attempt at Constitutional Monarchy*; (4) *The Republic*. This comprises a study of the development of the Revolution from its origin in the pre-revolutionary conditions in France to the return to constitutional government after the fall of Robespierre on the ninth Thermidor. Nothing new or original, either in the material or the method of treatment, is presented, but the story of the great Revolution is told in an interesting fashion, and as it is based upon good authorities, the volume deserves a place among the secondary histories of the Revolution designed for the general reader.

"MARYLAND AS A PROPRIETARY PROVINCE,"¹ was presented by Newton D. Mereness as a doctor's thesis to the faculty of Columbia University. It is the most exhaustive history of the political side of the provincial life of that state that has yet been written. The materials have been drawn from original sources with much care and industry, and woven into an interesting story, covering the successive revolutions and political changes that took place prior to the revolt against British authority.

THE GENERAL TENDENCY manifested by Mr. J. B. Morman's recent volume on *Social Progress*² may be summed up thus in the author's own words: "Viewed retrospectively in the light of history it can be said without fear of contradiction that, so far as the advancement of civilization is concerned, individualism has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Individualism as a social system possesses no power of promoting the advance of civilization." "The forces of progressive civilization have been intelligence and will, the universal characteristics of sentient beings, and there can be no hope for the welfare and happiness of the race except in the development and rational manifestation of these natural powers. Therefore, the problem before society is how to put these forces in operation so that the results will be for the good of the whole people rather than for any particular class. . . . What is needed is such a system that popular representatives *must* do the people's will in spite of selfish traits of character. . . . The struggle of the people to secure amendments to the constitution which shall include all their social

¹ Pp. 530+20. Price, \$3.00. New York: Macmillan Company, 1901.

² *The Principles of Social Progress. A Study of Civilization.* By JAMES BALE MORMAN, A. B. Pp. viii, 240. Price, 50 cents. Rochester, N. Y.: E. Darrow & Co., 1901.

rights will be a manifestation of an intelligent, vigorous political life, and will mark the beginning of a new era in national welfare and social evolution." Professor Morman then sets forth the changes necessary to inaugurate a new period of social progress. As the book touches upon a host of mooted problems, almost every page of it is open to objection, notably the sections which discuss economic questions. The author maintains, for example, that "the hour-unit of productive labor is the only rational and universal basis of value."

THE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL SCIENCE RECENTLY made by the South African Native Races Committee in *The Natives of South Africa*,¹ a book of 360 pages, is largely based on information gained by means of private correspondence. The committee enlisted the co-operation of men and women scattered throughout the British possessions and plied questions bearing on all of the main relations of native and foreign populations. Not only have the committee given an admirable digest of information received concerning native habits, local administration, taxation, apprenticeship, intemperance, the franchise, etc., but an appendix contains classified briefs and excerpts from the letters themselves. By such methods much has been added to the already voluminous literature on the subject.

THE PHILIPPINES, THE WAR AND THE PEOPLE² is a record of contemporary events—a clearly written and interesting series of letters originally contributed to the *New York Evening Post*. In some respects these letters gain in the preservation of their original form. The reader does not expect ethnological and historical precision and fullness. The correspondent on the field has no leisure for minute investigation; his work is of enduring value in proportion to his keenness of observation and balance of judgment in respect of the things he himself has witnessed.

In these essentials the book before us is particularly strong. The author is a man of long commercial experience and prone to take the hard-headed and prosaic view in all cases. He is a man from whom the truth may be expected. Possibly, now that the colonial fever at home has been somewhat checked by contact with cold fact, the candid treatment here given may receive its due of attention and reflection.

¹ Price, 12s. Published by John Murray, Albemarle street, London, 1901.

² By ALBERT G. ROBINSON. Pp. 407. Price, \$2.00. New York: McClure, Phillips and Company, 1901.

Robinson recognizes, as few other Americans have, the tremendous issues involved in the treatment of the religious orders in the Philippines. He asserts that the orders were the real authority when Spain was lamely wielding the nominal power, and that the revolutions of the last decades have been rebellions against the religious rather than the purely political oppression. The religious orders exercised their tyranny by reason of their possession of political power; of this power the Philippine Republic deprived them from the first days of its existence as a government; under the rule of the United States, however, the friars again hope, and not without reason, for reinstatement.

The author adds another chapter to the already published accounts of the remarkable news-censorship in vogue during the Otis period. The commercial possibilities of the islands are treated in some detail. Along with other grave questions, that of tropical labor appears as threatening and as unsolved as ever. For himself, Robinson believes the employment of Chinese labor to be the only practical solution, although he recognizes the reasonableness of the stock objections to this system.

In general, what is most to be feared in the present is the hankering of the volunteer after a "scrap"—regulars have some serious comprehension of what war means, but volunteers have enlisted for a fight and must force a brush of some kind in order to have stories to tell at home. The danger for the future lies in the inexperience and intolerance of the American toward "lower races," and in a defective colonial service. The author finds a strong resemblance between the Moro question in the Philippines and the Indian question as it has existed in the United States in the past.¹

WHEN A BRITISH MUNICIPALITY wishes to decrease the number of saloons within its limits, or to abolish some particular licensed house, it cannot simply withhold licenses, but must purchase the franchise or expectancy. The law does not give premises a perpetual license, but public custom does, and the obtainer of a license can immediately capitalize it in perpetuity. "The Place of Compensation in Temperance Reform"² is a careful, scholarly presentation of the subject in its legal and economic aspects. Seven schemes for compensation are presented, together with opinions by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Sedgwick and the authors of the seven schemes, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Goschen, Lord Peel, the Royal Commission, etc.

¹ Contributed by Dr. Albert G. Keller, Yale University.

² By C. P. SANGER, M. A. Pp. 135. Price, 2s. 6d. London: Published by P. S. King & Son, 1901.

The conclusion is that compensation should be given when a license is revoked, unless the holder has violated the law, and thus deprived himself of any rights in the license. The author suggests a compromise measure "which would enable justice to be done without taxing the exchequer or preventing any other and more radical reforms," viz., the confiscation of a reversionary interest after thirty years. That is, he proposes that the legislature enact that at the end of thirty years all licenses then existing should vest in local bodies, in philanthropic public companies or in the state. Thus the amount of present injury to license holders would be comparatively small, and the gain to the state thirty years hence very great.¹

AN INTERESTING ATTEMPT to popularize the latest results of scientific research² in all the fields of human knowledge, in a series of neat little volumes forming an illustrated popular encyclopædia, has recently been inaugurated by a Paris publishing house. Of the twenty-five volumes which have thus far made their appearance, four are of more or less interest to the sociologist. Number five of the collection on the Prehistorics of France gives in a somewhat dramatic form an account of the primary, secondary and tertiary periods of terrestrial evolution. Number twelve, an ardent plea for universal peace, with chapters on the causes and consequences of wars, contains bibliography of anti-war literature which will doubtless be of value to any one who wants to keep track of the peace movement. The chapters on international arbitration contain a clear presentation of the argument in favor of this scheme for avoiding wars. M. Michaud, in number thirteen of the collection, points out the historical value of legends and makes an attempt to show the relation between the nature of a people and the peculiar form of its characteristic legends, which represent the product of its imagination and furnish a valuable clue to the *Volksgeist*. Number twenty-two, finally, gives a clear and quite comprehensive account of practical attempts at co-operation, beginning with the Rochdale Pioneers, and embracing a great number of co-operative societies of consumption, distribution, production, as well as building societies, popular banks and profit-sharing. The history, advantages and difficulties of these various varieties of co-operation are pointed out, but the book is throughout eulogistic in

¹ Contributed by Dr. William H. Allen, Jersey City.

² *Les Livres d'Or de la Science*. Paris: Schleicher Frères. No. 5, *La Préhistoire de la France*. By STÉPHANE SERVANT. Pp. 192. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 12, *Les Guerres et la Paix*. By CHARLES RICHEL. Pp. 192. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 13, *Les Grandes Légendes de l'Humanité*. By L. MICHAUD D'HUMIAC. Pp. 188. Price, 1 fr. 50. No. 22, *Le Coopérationisme*. By A. D. BANCEL. Pp. 251. Price, 1 fr. 50.

its tone. It would be scarcely possible, however, to find a better brief account of the whole subject, or one so full of up-to-date facts.

A WIDE CIRCLE of readers will welcome a recent issue of the collected essays of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace.¹ The series consists of essays contributed to various magazines during the thirty-five years ending 1899, and includes a wide range of subjects from geology to the future life. There are six papers on earth studies, and others dealing with descriptive zoology, plant and animal distribution, the theory of evolution, anthropology, education, politics, economics, ethics and sociology.

In all this range of topics there is the treatment of a scholar with wide interests and sane ideas, simple, incisive and convincing in statement, and eminently fair and generous in criticism of opponents. All the essays have been revised, and stand as the author's present point of view in the various problems treated.

In the first essay, on Inaccessible Valleys, the author shows himself a loyal follower of Lyell, and stands out against Professor J. D. Whitney and other recent supporters of cataclysmic origin for certain valleys. The problem of the Cox and Grose valleys in N. S. Wales, he properly interprets. It would now be a simple problem to a trained physiographer—a case of an inner lowland, with canyon across the cuesta, paralleled somewhat broadly, in Texas by the Upper Pecos.

In the chapters on Evolution, the author has modestly refrained from any mention of his own part in the establishment of the theory of Natural Selection, and supports and interprets Darwin. He sides with Weismann in the disbelief in the inheritance of acquired characters. He is, of course, against Lamarck and on the side of Darwin in his appreciation of indefinite, spontaneous variation, and the retention of useful characters in the origin of specific differences.

Dr. Wallace shows with ample illustration, good ground for his belief in a Caucasian origin for Polynesians, thus running counter to Quatrefages.

In his papers touching social matters, the author is as vigorous as ever in his defence of the nationalization of land, and is a warm advocate of Mr. Bellamy as to a possible future organization of society, where "equality of opportunity" will be the chief maxim.²

¹ *Studies, Scientific and Social*. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. Two volumes, 12mo, pp. xv, 532 and viii, 535. Price, \$5.00. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

² Contributed by Dr. J. Paul Goode.

REVIEWS.

A Treatise on the Rights and Privileges Guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By the Hon. HENRY BRANNON, Justice of the Supreme Court of West Virginia. Pp. 562. W. H. Anderson & Co., Cincinnati, 1901.

The emphasis which is being laid upon the discussion of individual rights in all recent treatises on constitutional law is strikingly illustrated by the fact that during the last twelve months two bulky and exhaustive works on the Fourteenth Amendment have appeared. Compared with Mr. Guthrie's work upon the Amendment, that of Judge Brannon seems at once more exhaustive and more systematic.

The author has evidently examined exhaustively the great mass of decisions bearing directly and indirectly on the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. It is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject that has yet appeared, and is written with a clearness of style and vigor of expression which is both refreshing and inspiring.

The only chapter of the work which will give rise to marked differences of opinion is that treating of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States. Justice Brannon evidently regards the Slaughter House Cases as containing the most satisfactory interpretation of the distinction between the privileges and immunities of United States citizenship and those of state citizenship. The reader of the work is not informed with the care and detail which characterize other chapters, that a wide and irreconcilable difference separated the majority from the minority opinion in these cases, and that a considerable body of eminent jurists were and are still of opinion that the line of division between the two classes of citizenship as drawn by the Supreme Court of the United States not only nullified, at least in part, the intention of the framers of the amendment and of all those who supported it, but also deprived the federal government of powers which had been one of the issues of the Civil War. As Burgess has so clearly pointed out, the Slaughter House Cases checked the movement towards the nationalization of civil liberty, and to that extent deprived the country of the logical results of the great slavery conflict. It is to be hoped that in another edition of the work Justice Brannon will rewrite the chapter relating to the subject of the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, placing the whole subject before the reader in the light of the circumstances which made the Fourteenth Amendment imperatively necessary.

It may be of some interest to point out that the author has misread the Treaty of Paris. On page thirty-nine we find the following: "The Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain, closing the

Spanish-American War, provides that all persons born in the Spanish peninsula, that is, in Spain, resident in the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, who should elect to continue to reside in those islands, after a certain time should be deemed citizens of the United States and entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; but there is no such provision as to the natives of those islands."

As a matter of fact, the Peace Commissioners were extremely careful not to grant United States citizenship to anyone. The provisions relating to nationality were framed with great care and with the evident intention of avoiding the question of citizenship. Article nine of the treaty—to which Justice Brannon evidently refers—merely provides that Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, who have not made the declaration preserving allegiance to Spain within a year from the ratification of the treaty "*shall be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.*" This is very different from saying that they are to be deemed citizens of the United States. The legislation of Congress for Porto Rico has confirmed this distinction.

The chapters relating to the process of law and the equal protection of the laws are probably the most important of the book, and for these both the members of the legal profession and the laymen are under a deep obligation to the author.

L. S. ROWE.

San Juan, Porto Rico.

Municipal Sanitation in the United States. By CHARLES V. CHAPIN, M. D., Superintendent of Health of the City of Providence. Pp. viii, 970. The Providence Press, 1901.

This elaborate work is the result of several years of study and practice by one whose success as health officer and as lecturer on hygiene, eminently qualifies him to present this pioneer work on American municipal sanitation. It is not intended as a treatise on the principles of sanitation, but is rather a compendium of sanitary practice. Here one can find the high and low water marks of American sanitary administration. While the author has kept his own views in the background, for the most part, yet the methods employed by various municipalities to register vital statistics, abate and prevent nuisances, protect water and food sources, cleanse streets and control contagion are so clearly explained that the reader could hardly fail to select the sounder method. Health officers will find these comparative exhibits to be of great assistance in the conduct of their practical work.

At the present time comparatively few health officers seem to appreciate the truth of the author's emphatic statement: "Vital statistics is the firm basis on which the whole structure of sanitary science and sanitary practice must rest." The book contains chapters on sanitary organization, registration of vital statistics, nuisances, specific nuisances, plumbing, water, ice and sewers, food, communicable diseases, refuse disposal and miscellaneous sanitary work. The chapter on refuse disposal will illustrate the author's method and indicate to what extent the book can serve the mayor, councilman or taxpayer as well as the health officer. It records the practice of one hundred cities with reference to the collection and disposal of garbage and waste, the frequency of collection, the time of removal and whether done by city employees, by contract or by licensed scavengers, how disposed of, whether on land, in water, by feeding to animals, by reduction or cremation, etc., together with a description of these processes and an estimate of the advantages of each method. Similarly the disposal of dry and mixed refuse, night soil, grease and bones and finally street cleaning are discussed.

The book is not without its defects in emphasis, selection of data, method of arrangement and style of presentation, but as a pioneer work it deserves the highest commendation.

Jersey City.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

Les Grandes Routes des Peuples. Essai de Géographie sociale. Comment la Route crée le Type social. I. Les Routes de l'Antiquité. By E. DEMOLINS. Pp. xii, 462. Price, 3 fr. 50. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1901.

M. Edmond Demolins delights in startling propositions, clearly and boldly formulated. His volume of a few years ago, entitled "To What is the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxons Due?" was of a nature, both in title and contents, to arouse the vanity and curiosity of his countrymen. Its argumentative basis, despite a number of exaggerations and a manifest tendency to simplify the central problem of the book by overlooking disturbing facts, was well worth serious consideration. The last book published by the same author, "How Routes Create the Social Type," possesses the same qualities of perspicacity and audacity. There is nothing equivocal in the author's thesis.

There exists—such is the trend of M. Demolins' argument—an infinite variety of populations on the earth's surface. What is the cause of this variety? The usual reply is: the difference of races. But the race explains nothing, for it still remains to be determined what has produced the diversity of races. The race is not a cause, but a consequence. The primary and decisive cause of the diversity of peoples

and the diversity of races *is the routes which they have followed*. The route creates the race and the social type, transforming in a peculiar way the people which traverses it. Unconsciously, gradually but fatally, routes have fashioned the Tartar-Mongolian type, the Esquimaux type, the Red Skin type, the Indian type, or the Negro type. It is useless to protest against this, for we are, declares M. Demolins, in the presence of a well-established law.

It was not a matter of indifference to enter upon the routes of the deserts of Arabia and Sahara, or that of southern and eastern Asia; for these routes produced the Arabian type, the Assyrian and Egyptian type, or the types of the Mede, Persian, Chinese, Japanese and Hindoo. The Mediterranean route created the Phœnician, the Carthaginian, the Greek and the Roman, while the routes of Central Europe created the Celts and Germans. The northernmost European route produced exactly the Finnish type; that of the great Russian plains determined the North-Slavonic type; and the southern mountains gave rise to the South-Slavonic type.

In Western Europe, the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, French, German, Greek, Italian, Spanish types are likewise the result of the routes upon which our ancestors were dispersed while on the way to their present habitat. The diversity of these routes alone explains the diversity of occidental peoples and what we are accustomed to call the national genius of each of them. Modify any one of these routes, lower it or raise it, cause it to bring forth different products, thus changing the form and nature of labor, and you will have modified the social type and produced a different race.

M. Demolins goes even further than this. He maintains that if the history of mankind were to begin anew, and the surface of the globe remained the same, history would repeat itself in its main lines. There would, of course, be some secondary differences—in political revolutions, for example, to which, he declares, we attach far too much importance. But the same routes would reproduce the same social types and stamp them with the same essential characteristics. If all this is true, as M. Demolins asserts, his remark is equally true that this explanation of matters singularly modifies our conception of geography and history. Geography ceases to be an arid nomenclature or a more or less picturesque tableau of the earth's divisions. It explains the nature and the social rôle of these diverse routes, and consequently the origin of diverse races. It thus becomes the primordial factor in the constitution of human societies. History, on the other hand, ceases to be the story of events often unexplained and inexplicable. It is illuminated by a new light, co-ordinated and ele-

vated to the rank of the highest and most exact philosophy. It becomes a reliable life guide.

The author's doctrine which we have above outlined, as far as possible, in his own words, is supported by a cleverly marshalled collection of facts, divided into three groups or books. The first of these concerns the "Types without a History," for example the pastoral, patriarchal, conservative people of the steppes; the second treats of the "Ancient Types of the Orient," with a more complicated society due to the need for systematic, voluntary production, and a certain division of labor; and the third discusses the "Ancient Types of the Occident" as formed by the routes of the Mediterranean Sea, and especially the configuration of the littoral.

It is evident that M. Demolins employs the word route in a wide sense—almost identical with physical environment as a whole. His social doctrine belongs to the same class as Karl Marx's, according to which the method of economic production determines all the other features of society; or as Professor Bücher's, according to which the manner, means and extent of economic exchange is the determinative cause of social structure, political organization, etc.; or even as Benjamin Kidd's thesis that religion is the most essential factor of social evolution. But M. Demolins' doctrine is more fundamental than all of these; it goes behind them and attacks the problem of social causality at its very root. We are justified, however, in asking whether any single causal element, no matter how important it may be or how broadly we have sought to define it, is sufficient to explain every trait of a society's economic, political, æsthetic and religious organization. Indeed, it is more than likely that a judicious combination and synthesis of these many "unique" causes would approach more closely to the truth than any one of them alone.

We refrain from any detailed examination of the facts adduced by M. Demolins, until the publication of the forthcoming second volume treating of modern routes.

C. W. A. VEDITZ.

Bates College.

The Practice of Charity. By E. T. DEVINE. Pp. 186. Price, 65c.
New York: Lentilhon & Co., 1901.

Mr. E. T. Devine's work is one of a series of hand-books for practical workers in charity and philanthropy, edited by S. M. Jackson, Professor of Church History in the New York University. Half a dozen volumes have already been published in the series, and others

are announced. They appear to have no special sequence or relation to each other, and as a series lack method and arrangement. Mr. Devine has, however, condensed in a crisp yet lucid manner, the whole rationale of charitable work. He has studied the problem of charity academically, from the standpoint of a trained economist, and has been able to add the practical knowledge of the experienced worker to the wisdom of a scholar. The book is a safe guide to put in the hands of practical workers who have enough intelligence to fit them for charitable work, and it should be required as a text-book by civil service examiners, in testing the fitness of applicants for public charitable or correctional positions. The inter-relation of public and private charitable agencies and the necessity for their co-operation are fittingly emphasized in the Introduction. The chapter on the Defence of Charity is clear and convincing. The author shows that charity can properly justify itself in the social sense as an educational agency. "Charity reasonably bestowed does not perpetuate the unfit, but transforms the unfit into that which may profitably survive." In chapter three, on Those Who Need Help, he shows that we are all, in varying degrees, beneficiaries, while we may all be benefactors. The problems involved in wise charitable work are skillfully suggested, and the various phases of the complex work with and for the poor are ably outlined. The chapter on Substitutes for Charity deals with such agencies as employment bureaus, day nurseries, savings banks and other departments of preventive and constructive work, which are of good service in rendering charity, in its lower forms, unnecessary. While the title of this chapter is not entirely satisfactory, no alternative readily suggests itself.

The chapter on Organized Charity is particularly practical and we note with satisfaction Mr. Devine's radical definition and conception of the scope of this term. His comments on "the very respectable citizens who have carelessly allowed their names to be used in connection with enterprises of which they know little or nothing," ought to be widely published. The author's insistence upon the importance of the constructive and positive sides of the work of Charity Organization Societies will also commend itself to all those who have had the trying experience of starting such societies in the face of ignorance and prejudice. Those who are not experienced in such work will be surprised to learn that Charity Organization Societies have increased the proportion of their work that is done by unpaid volunteer workers. Mr. Devine lays stress upon the particular value of personal friendship in dealing with the poor, and the necessity of helping them to create a better home environment. He shows that "it is a deceptive philosophy that turns the back upon the

parent as hopeless, and proposes to save the children separately." The friendly visitor needs direction, however, and the author shows that "the collective wisdom of even a small group of earnest workers is likely to exceed that of any of its individual members." The chapter on the Church and Charity is very suggestive, though it is handled briefly, as the publishers intend to devote another volume to this subject especially. It is made clear that the public schools share the task of the educational process with the family and the church, and the "practical life of the streets," and that charity rightly understood is "superdenominational." The importance of trained service in charitable work and the dignity of the new profession of philanthropy are discussed in an admirable manner. His reference to Penology, in this connection, is particularly apt: "Guards and attendants in charge of prisoners require instruction in certain matters on which instruction can be given only within the walls of the particular prison in which their duty is to be performed. But the fundamental principles of justice, the reasons for longer and shorter sentences, the effect of imprisonment upon character, the result of criminal association, the treatment of ex-convicts, the theory of indeterminate sentences, the difference between the treatment of convicted and unconvicted prisoners, the care of prison hospital patients, of insane prisoners, and of juvenile offenders, offer interesting and profitable fields of study, in which those who are preparing to enter prison administration might work side by side with charity organization and child-saving agents. In England there are already four schools, two each for men and women, for the training of prison wardens."

As a hand-book one is impressed with the self-restraint which the author has shown in the elimination of allied topics of undoubted interest, but which are not essential to his exposition. One misses, however, any adequate reference to almshouses and other public charitable institutions, and the problems involved in the state control or supervision of public charities and corrections. The housing problem of the poor is barely touched upon, and there is absolutely nothing to indicate the character of forward movements in foreign countries. Ten pages are devoted to a constitution of a Charity Organization Society, which might be used to better purpose in extending the "Illustrative Problems," which the author has limited exclusively to the cases of a charity organization society.

On the whole, this little volume is illuminating and inspiring, and its possible faults of omission are probably due to limitations imposed by the publishers. We doubt, however, whether many of the "public officials responsible for the relief of the poor," who are included among the persons for whom it is intended, can be reached through

so scholarly a medium. Perhaps this is somewhat hypercritical, as they are probably beyond the sphere of any academic influence.

HUGH F. FOX.

Bayonne, N. J.

Der Ursprung des Zunftwesens und die älteren Handwerkerverbände des Mittelalters. By RUDOLPH EBERSTADT. Pp. 201. Price, 5 M. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900.

The drastic criticisms by German writers upon Eberstadt's *Fraternitas und Magisterium* (Schmoller's *Staats und Socialwissenschaftlichen Forschungen*, xv, 2, 1897), give the present volume an unusual interest, for the subjects are closely akin.

Both from the institution of the *Magisterium* and from the *Fraternitas* Eberstadt claims there is a direct evolution into the guilds, an evolution which can be clearly traced in the sources. Hence it is in the *Magisterium* and the *Fraternitas* that he finds the origin of the guilds. The evolution proceeded step by step. The fraternities whose objects were at first purely religious and whose membership comprised men of all crafts and classes, gradually changed their character; persons of similar occupation and social standing naturally drew together into the same fraternity. This change was largely effected by the middle of the twelfth century. But the fraternities had not yet attained to the place of guilds. Their organization was extremely loose, and they had no status based on public right. During the latter half of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century, however, one after another of the fraternities attained legal existence before the civil authorities and were invested with corporate rights and obligations. Thus it happened that the old fraternities were transformed into the guilds of the Middle Ages, in which the industrial and economic features superseded the religious and social. The basis for the evolution in the case of the *Magisterium* is found in the exercise of the monopoly of working or trading in a particular branch of industry (*Zunftzwang*).

It is the emphasis upon this intimate relation of the guilds with the institutions that immediately preceded them, that distinguishes the theory advanced by Eberstadt. Such an emphasis brings out the continuity of historic institutions, and is diametrically opposed to the theory of Von Belon and other authors who find the origin of the guilds entirely in the mediaeval tendency toward organization (einem lebhaften Associationstrieb) or in the monopoly privilege (*Zunftzwang*).

A marked feature of the book is its controversial character. It is polemic from beginning to end. The views of different writers on the origin of the guilds are carefully examined. The method is thoroughly

scientific, the conclusions reached being always based upon a careful study of the historic evidence. The common practice even among authors of standing, of resting many of their arguments concerning craft guilds on documentary sources in which there is no other evidence that guilds are meant than the mere mention of artisans, comes in for drastic criticism.

University of Pennsylvania.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

A History of Modern Philosophy. A Sketch of the History of Philosophy from the Close of the Renaissance to Our Own Day. By DR. HARALD HÖFFDING, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Translated from the German edition by B. E. Meyer. Vol. I, pp. xviii, 532; Vol. II, pp. x, 600. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900.

This admirable piece of work first written in Danish and later translated into German has been in its English form for a little more than a year. Even in English it is a notable work in spite of the inaccuracies and infelicities of the translation; to these Professor Frank Thilly has called attention in the *Philosophical Review* for July, 1900.

The characteristic strength of this sketch of modern philosophy is its thoroughgoing contemporariness. Although the year 1880 was selected as the limit of time beyond which this sketch should not be carried, it is evident as one surveys its spirit and scope that it is the work of a student who appreciates the intensity, boldness, and breadth of philosophical thought in Europe and America since 1880, the work of a student who is himself master of the newer aspects of psychology and ethics.

To Professor Höffding the problems of philosophy have their roots in the theoretical and practical relations in which man stands to the universe of which he is a part (II, 563) and this double interest of philosophy leads him to give extended notice to many whose names do not appear ordinarily, or occupy only an unimportant place, in modern text books of philosophy; it leads him to give much more than the usual attention to speculative thought in ethics and politics.

Philosophical investigation according to Höffding centres in four great problems: the problem of knowledge, the problem of existence, the problem of evaluation, and the problem of consciousness. It is the third of these problems that takes him into the domain of ethics and consequently by a wider synthesis into politics and religion. The student of political and social science finds something like an adequate attention bestowed upon the development of speculative thought regarding the nature of the state and of social institutions. The second volume contains a masterly account (Book IX) of the develop-

ment of the positive philosophy, wherein Comte, Mill, Darwin and Spencer receive systematic treatment.

Höfding's exposition of the rise of the positive philosophy is marked by a profound appreciation of its connection with the rise of the scientific spirit and the empirical and inductive methods of inquiry. Scientists, publicists and essayists, Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Lessing, Herder, Ludwig Feuerbach, Saint Simon, Coleridge, Carlyle and many others take their place by the side of those speculative thinkers on whom the world long looked as the only philosophers.

In the very beginning of this sketch, in the first volume, the reader is impressed with the vigor and freshness, the modernness of the point of view, as he makes his acquaintance with Pomponazzi and Machiavelli, Montaigne and Charron. The early exponents of the theory of natural right have received painstaking attention. Neils Hemmingsen, *De lege naturae apodictica methodus*, 1565, and Johannes Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta atque exemplis sacris et profanis illustrata*, 1603, each receives careful though brief treatment as well as Jean Bodin and Hugo Grotius. Of course the political philosophy of Hobbes, Spinoza and Locke is discussed. An altogether unusual prominence is given to Adam Smith.

The student of political and social science may well be urged to read a work like this by Höfding, not only for what he will find here directly concerning the historical development of these sciences, but also for the aid it will give him in co-ordinating the problems of social and political philosophy with the more general problems of philosophy.

ISAAC A. LOOS.

The State University of Iowa.

The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion. By HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D. Pp. 463. Price, \$2.25. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901.

A complete history of the famous case of the Moriscos is now at last offered to the English-speaking public. The name of the author, whose various studies of mediæval thought and faith, assign to him a unique place among American historians, suffices to create a favorable attitude toward this work, and a careful examination will only confirm the expectation of meeting with ripe scholarship and sound judgment. It is a documentary history in the fullest sense of the word, its raw material being state papers, the minutes and correspondence of the Inquisition, and other kinds of first-hand evidence. The author sees his task in the history of the growth of Spanish intol-

erance, and presents with the painstaking fullness of a constitutional lawyer the hideous and ruinous policy of obligatory conversion to the last desperate step of a defeated statesmanship—expulsion. He is very much more hopeful than writers on this period have generally been about the possibility of the Morisco problem having been solved by a broad religious tolerance, but he makes out a good case for himself with the picture he unfolds of race harmony in Castile and Aragon before the time of Isabella and Ximenes. Here, as elsewhere, the ministers of the religion of love turned the scale. It was the Church that had regularly through decades inculcated intolerance with threats of penalties and excommunication, before a people naturally inclined to forbearance let its milk of human kindness turn to acid. Then, the desire for religious uniformity having gradually sunk into the blood, a passionate race made it the ideal to which it sacrificed every other aspiration of existence.

The relation of the expulsion to the general fact of Spanish economic decay is discussed with calm breadth in Chapter XI. In tabulating the opinions of present-day Spaniards it is curious to observe how the old notion of religious uniformity still clouds unconsciously the judgment of men who would repudiate vehemently the charge of religious intolerance. Lea delivers his final opinion in these words: "The decadence of Spain was not caused merely by the loss of population in banishing Jews and Moriscos, for that loss would easily have been made up. It was that the Jews and Moriscos were economically the most valuable of its inhabitants, whose industry in great part supported the rest" (p. 400).

It is impossible to give in a few words an idea of the amount of evidence collected in this book. As the reader turns its leaves the comfortable feeling takes possession of him that this is final. However, the very thoroughness of treatment involves at least one evil consequence: the reader is persuaded at times that he is handling a volume of law reports, and becomes convinced that at this rate history must get completely out of touch with literature.

FERDINAND SCHWILL.

Chicago.

The American Workman. By PROFESSOR E. LEVASSEUR, of the College of France. Translated from the French by Thomas S. Adams, Ph.D. Edited by Theodore Marburg. Pp. xx, 517. Price, \$3.00. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1900.

American students of the labor question will welcome in the present convenient form the results of Professor Levasseur's very valuable investigations of labor conditions in the United States. As the readers

of the ANNALS will recall, the author visited the United States at two different periods for the purpose of collecting material on the subject, and of personally investigating the situation here. His first visit was in 1876, during the Centennial Exposition; the second in 1893, during the Columbian Exposition. On both occasions he made personal visits to numerous factories and workshops and to workingmen's homes in different parts of the country, and made the acquaintance of manufacturers, economists and statisticians, who gave him valuable assistance in securing data. After returning to France from his second visit Professor Levasseur spent some four years in preparing the results of his investigations for the press, and in 1898 he published in two large volumes of nearly 1,200 pages the well-known work, *L'Ouvrier Américain*. These two volumes have now been condensed, in the American edition, into one volume of a little less than half the number of pages in the original edition. The work of condensing has been wisely done, the chief omissions being the elaboration of certain phases of the subject, the gist of which is given in an excellent resumé, in the closing chapter, of the entire ground covered in the French edition. The most essential parts are retained, either in full or in outline; and in every case where it was convenient to do so the translator has brought statistical as well as some other information down to date. So that in this particular the present edition is more valuable than the earlier one.

A brief survey of the present volume will be of interest. The chapters are ten in number and treat the following subjects: The progress of American industry in the last fifty years; the productivity of labor and machinery; labor laws and trade regulations; organizations of labor; the strike; wages of men; wages of women and children; factors determining nominal wages; real wages and workmen's budgets; present conditions and future prospects. The first chapter is a study of the whole industrial field and serves as an introduction to the special study of the condition of the laborer. The author draws a vivid and accurate picture of the prodigious economic growth of the country in the half century since 1850. Agriculture, the extractive industries and manufactures have all developed with unprecedented rapidity—a development which may be accounted for by the fact that we were in possession of great domains rich in cultivable lands and mineral deposits, which were thrown open to endless numbers of immigrants equipped with all the resources of civilization; and by the further and most important fact of the application of machinery to all kinds of economic activity. A logical result of this wide application of machinery is that the number of laborers has not increased as rapidly as production, although the increase has been great, both absolutely

and as compared with the whole population, the number of laborers engaged in manufacturing industries, for instance, being, in 1850, only four per cent of the entire population, while in 1890 they had increased to seven and one-half per cent. It is the relation of the laborer to the machinery which has brought about such a rapid development of the natural resources of the country, and his relation to the consequent increase in production that constitutes much of the discussion in several of the succeeding chapters, and in preparation for which the first chapter furnishes an excellent background.

The chapter on the productivity of labor and machinery is partly historical, partly analytical. The growth of various manufacturing interests and the movement toward concentration are described; and the author's conclusion in this connection is, that in respect to machinery and large manufacturing plants the United States is in advance of the world, not even excepting England. To anticipate the author's chapters on wages, the effect upon the workman of such an extensive use of machinery is found to be beneficial. In the more rapid increase in production as compared with that in the number of laborers is found the chief cause and explanation of rising wages, both nominal and real, during the last fifty years; and it is this greater productivity in the United States as compared with that in Europe, where machinery has not been so extensively introduced, that accounts largely for the difference in wages in the two countries. But the higher the rate of wages, the greater the inducement for employers to introduce labor-saving machinery, or as one might say from another point of view, larger product-producing machinery; for not only has machinery not permanently displaced labor, but it has given increased employment to labor, as is shown by the fact that a larger proportion of our population were laborers in 1890 than in 1850. Increased production must mean increased consumption; and increased consumption stimulates production. Or as Professor Levasseur well says: "As to wages, the higher the rate, the more economy in substituting machinery for labor; and again, the greater the productivity of machinery, the higher the possible range of wages."

So much may suffice to show the general view which the author takes of the situation. He is strongly optimistic. And yet he does not ignore the factors in the problem which impede the progress of the workman, such as the immigration of cheaper labor from Europe. In this connection it may be pointed out that he makes a well-deserved criticism of those who argue for protective tariffs to maintain high wages, and at the same time introduce cheap foreign labor to debase wages.

There is one point on which we may differ with the author, namely,

as regards what he says of the attitude of the workingmen toward compulsory arbitration as a method of settling differences between themselves and their employers. This method, the author states, "is repugnant to employers, because in the substitution of the public authority for the free disposition of the means of production by their owners they see an element of confiscation; but for this very reason it constitutes one of the most cherished ideals of the labor party." (Page 464.) It is true, as the author points out (page 465), that many states have established permanent boards of arbitration, but the findings of these boards are binding only in those cases where both parties voluntarily appeal to them, and then for only a very short time after the settlement is made. As a matter of fact the boards are seldom appealed to by either party, for the reason that they prefer to settle their differences in their own way. The latest expression of opinion on the subject by those directly interested was given at the arbitration conference held in Chicago in December, 1900, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. Not only were the labor representatives present not in favor of compulsory arbitration, but they were unanimously opposed to it. The method which the conservative labor organizations of the United States have long been advocating has been voluntary arbitration or conciliation through boards composed of representatives of workmen and employers in the industries concerned. The great movements which have been going on for years for the adjustment of wages and for the settlement of all matters between the workmen and their employers by collective action through their representatives, the author does not seem fully to appreciate.

With possibly this single criticism Professor Levasseur has given us by far the most comprehensive and thoroughly scientific treatment of the labor situation in the United States which has yet appeared. The work of the translator has been ably done, and, if we except a number of minor errors in spelling and punctuation and the failure to correct a misstatement of the author that a lecture by Mr. Carroll D. Wright before the students of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., was delivered at New Haven, the same may be said of the work of the editor.

J. E. GEORGE.

Northwestern University.

The Rise of the Swiss Republic. By W. D. McCrackan. Pp. 423. Price, \$2.00. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1901.

Mr. McCrackan has been studying Swiss political institutions very intelligently and attentively for many years. While he is not without

a good deal of bias as a historian he is always readable and generally accurate as to his facts. His "Rise of the Swiss Republic" has now reached its second edition in an enlarged and revised form, and it will be warmly welcomed by people who know Switzerland, whether as students or only as summer visitors to its valleys, lakes and peaks. The book is a complete historical account of the development of Switzerland from the time of the rather mythical lake dwellers up to the present date. The most lively interest will be awakened, however, by the chapters which are devoted to the modern confederation.

An event which marks the beginning of a new epoch in Switzerland is the war of the Sonderbund—in a sense comparable to our Civil War. As a result of this war came a revision of the Swiss constitutional system. In 1848 a new constitution of the Swiss Confederation was adopted by a majority of the cantons and a majority of the voters; and the central government, assuming more power to itself, became from that time forward of some real authority in the direction of affairs.

Mr. McCrackan is a warm advocate of those characteristically democratic institutions, the initiative and the referendum. The Federal Government and every canton except Fribourg have the referendum either in its compulsory or optional form. Since 1891 the Confederation has had the initiative and seventeen out of the twenty-two cantons have adopted it. Upon the application of thirty thousand voters in the Confederation a bill which has passed the legislature must be submitted to the popular vote, and 50,000 voters can originate a law. In rather unscientific enthusiasm Mr. McCrackan says of this system: "There is no movement in any other country at present which can be compared to this masterly and systematic reform on democratic lines. It is full of great possibilities. It has already fulfilled many of its earlier promises. It is rapidly converting the Swiss people into a nation governing itself upon an almost ideal plan—directly, logically and without intermediaries."

Our author believes that these reforms should be introduced into the United States. We should know by this time that they have been pretty thoroughly tested in this country. The representative system has been modified very materially—not only in respect of state constitutions, which have been referred to popular vote almost from the foundation of the government, but also as to state statutes and all kinds of local laws and ordinances. Furthermore, the people may originate various classes of local legislation. And we have attained this development quite independently of the Swiss experience. It is true that the Swiss example has recently led to the amendment of the

state constitutions so as to introduce the initiative and the referendum in the general Swiss form into the political practice of South Dakota and Utah, while the change is pending in Oregon and some other commonwealths. A few large cities, as San Francisco, have such provisions in their charters; and a political element, hitherto influential in the West, would like to see the principles extended. The author would have only one house of legislature, and it would be not more than a committee for submitting bills to popular vote. The people would be their own lawmakers to check the evil acts and corrupt designs of their representatives.

While the abuses which are to be remedied are very gross there are some points which authors like Mr. McCrackan overlook. They study the Swiss experience and take too little account of our own. They allege that when the Swiss constitution was adopted its framers patterned it after the American constitution—introducing modifications, however, to suit local conditions. It is this that we need to do when we transplant the referendum. We need to consider American conditions more carefully. We have the referendum, and how has it operated?

The opponents of the referendum, says Mr. McCrackan, assume that the people are an "unreasoning beast." They do not have to assume anything of the kind, nor do they believe this. They look only at the facts. If they are to make their own laws the people should manifest a deep interest and active zeal in measures which are submitted to them. Instead of this the records in this country, covering many states for many years, show that only about half as many men will go to the polls to vote for measures as vote for members of the legislature, governors, congressmen, etc. No matter what the tendency may be in small, compact states like Switzerland, Americans cannot be persuaded to come out in large numbers to vote either for or against laws. While it is often argued that those who do not vote should be governed by those who will and who do, such a lack of zeal is nevertheless very deplorable, because it enables the politicians in control of the electoral machinery to effect their own ends. No great change in our political conditions may be expected from a system which reduces rather than increases the sense of popular interest and responsibility.

The present evils are due to the fact that the people are not able to choose their representatives wisely. Would they manifest greater wisdom in the choice of laws? These are important questions of government which vitally concern the American people, and require their careful consideration when it is proposed to overturn the present constitutional system. Mr. McCrackan's history is interest-

ing but it is marred by prejudices in which the historian should never indulge.

ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER.

Philadelphia.

Railway Mail Service: A Comparative Study of Railway Rates and Service. By GEORGE G. TUNELL. Pp. 214. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1901.

This book consists of a series of articles arising from the controversy over the remuneration of railways for the carriage of mail matter. Although "nominally disconnected," the articles all bear upon the subject of the mail service of the railways and the rate of payment therefor. The first and principal article consists of a statement submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee on Postal Affairs (created by Act of Congress, approved June 13, 1898), and is apparently a brief for the railways in general, and in particular for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.

The articles forming the book are apparently the result of careful and painstaking study (in many cases of material inaccessible to most students) and disclose a thorough knowledge of the subject. Mr. Tunell traces the genesis and evolution of the present method of remunerating railroads from the Act of 1873 and attempts to show cause why a demand for a reduction in the rate of compensation is unreasonable and unwarranted. The author lays emphasis upon the demands made by the postal department upon the railroads and the excellent service required, and finds a justification for the present high rates in the excellent character of this service. He moreover shows that the mail transportation rates have actually declined despite the improvement in the service, and that even since 1879, when the rates were legally reduced for the last time, the railroad receipts per ton mile of mail matter transported have fallen off almost forty per cent. He presents in detail the factors making for high cost in mail transportation and points out the fact that, in consequence of mail matter being weighed only once in four years and the remuneration being based upon the weight of the mails at the time last preceding, as well as for other reasons, the railroads do not, as a matter of fact, receive payment for the whole weight carried.

The book is largely controversial. It contains a mass of statistical data bearing upon the subject of rates and costs.

WALTER E. WEYL.

Up From Slavery. By BOOKER T. WASHINGTON. Pp. ix, 330. Price, \$1.50. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901.

Mr Washington's latest book is principally autobiographical, and will doubtless arouse the same interest it excited when appearing in

serial form in the *Outlook*. The work might well be called a book with a purpose although the purpose is revealed only in the unfolding of the life it records. The author is a man of parts, one who has seen opportunity, has seized it and firmly maintained his grasp. He has not disdained to set forth candidly his lowly beginnings, and the consequent worth of such a narrative is far-reaching.

The book begins with the author's slave days, records his arduous struggles and ends with his days of triumph over caste and color prejudice. Tuskegee of course is his central theme, and he writes of his labors there with a simplicity that appeals powerfully to the reader. As in all of his writings there is no striving after literary effect. Its worth as a story of a life is in the incentive it gives to the dependent Negro race to look forward and upward with hope, encouraged by the thought that what one man has done another may do. It presents, as does every product of Mr. Washington's pen, the same earnest plea to "dignify and glorify common labor," while it touches also the embarrassments of a Negro's life. In this respect it will prove of value to both friends and enemies.

What seems of greatest value in the work is the altruistic spirit which pervades it. The idea of helping others, brought out in Chapter IV, and recurring again and again throughout the pages along with the parallel idea of self-help, seems to strike the keynote of Mr. Washington's life work. The other thoughts woven in are simply woof, giving light and shade, humor and pathos to the whole. No part of the book sets forth more pertinently the problems connected with racial prejudice than does Chapter VI on the Black Race and Red Race. There the idea is clearly brought out that, after all, it is not color but the stigma of slavery that attaches itself to and hedges about the American Negro. Mr. Washington has experienced exceptionally favorable treatment on all sides, but he is not blind to what others who are refined and intelligent have so often to endure, and it is well for him to speak.

In a succinct way he has shown himself to the world as never before. He has told of his privations and his triumphs with equal unostentation, and as we read we are not at a loss to see what elements of character have contributed largely to his success. He is a man with a cause—a cause which, as in the case of General Armstrong and his successor at Hampton Institute, Dr. F. B. Frissell, has always been placed before the man. His policy, as in his other books, can be read in every line. It is shown in the temper with which he has associated with the Saxon race and in which he has been listened to in return. Lessons of practical value can be drawn from this in these days of unrest. This policy runs like a vein through the pages—a determined

policy to "bring the races together and to encourage the cultivation of friendly relations instead of doing that which would embitter." No one can cavil at the ideas presented concerning the situation and the condition of the race. They are eminently sensible and can be summed up in the pithy statement: "No man who continues to add something to the material, intellectual and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is long left without proper reward. This is a great human law which cannot be permanently nullified."

This volume of 330 pages will at least show what one man of the Negro race has done in this direction and that the law referred to has worked naturally to the end. The book is written in the spirit of fairness and frankness. The author pays tribute to the improvement of the race in morals and industrial condition and this, coming from such a competent observer, counterbalances the stigmatization that the race has received from another man of color who saw no good in the American Negro. 700

As the purport of the work is to present a life sketch, the author does not aim to set forth facts so copiously nor so pertinently as in his former book, "The Future of the American Negro," nor does he deviate from the lines of reasoning already familiar to his readers. The work is one of the sanest, most interesting and convincing of autobiographies—sane in views, interesting in unique material, and convincing in itself as a plain statement of the possibilities of the Negro race. It will help much in refuting errors, encouraging friends, and converting enemies.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH.

Wilberforce University.

A History of the Latin Monetary Union. A Study of International Monetary Action. By HENRY PARKER WILLIS. Pp. viii, 332. Price, \$2.00. The University of Chicago Press, 1901.

The present volume is No. V in the economic studies published by the University of Chicago under the editorship of Professor J. Laurence Laughlin. As stated in the preface, its purpose is "to furnish an impartial historical account of the various steps taken by the Latin Union, especially so far as concerns its treatment of the silver question; and to see how far such an account will furnish support for current notions regarding the monetary problem as affected by the action of the Latin Union."

The book is divided into twenty chapters and three appendices. The first four chapters are introductory and contain an account of the monetary history of France, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy in the years immediately preceding the formation of the Union and of the

monetary difficulties which led to the treaty of 1865. Chapters V and VI contain a detailed account of the proceedings of the convention of 1865, an analysis of the treaty which followed, and a special discussion of the part which France took in these deliberations and of the nature of her influence. Chapters VII to XII inclusive treat of the history of the Latin Union up to 1874. Chapters XIII and XIV treat of the convention of 1874 and the period of restricted coinage of five franc pieces, and the remaining chapters treat of the conference of 1878, the discontinuance of the coinage of the five franc pieces, and the history of the Union down to the present time.

The introductory chapters are sketchy and are confined exclusively to a statement of such facts in the monetary history of the four states concerned as was necessary to explain the difficulties leading up to the Union. In the discussion of the period, 1865 to 1874, especial emphasis is given to the effect of the suspension of specie payments in Italy and to the peculiar position which that question occupied in the Union during the entire period. Dr. Willis has carefully analyzed the discussions held during the annual meetings of the representatives of the four states and has attempted to trace the changes of sentiment and opinion regarding the Union itself and especially regarding the desirability of a gold standard.

In the chapters which treat of the period since 1878 prominence is given by Dr. Willis to the discussions concerning the redemption of the five franc pieces, to the circumstances which led up to the treaty of 1885, and to those which have preserved the Union since that date.

The detailed account which Dr. Willis has given us throws light upon a great many questions which have been more or less obscure in the minds of most people. It shows conclusively that the Union was entirely unsuccessful in its attempts to maintain the concurrent circulation of the five franc pieces and the gold coins. It also makes very clear the fact that the reason for the failure of the bimetallic system was not solely the adoption of the gold standard by Germany or demonetization of silver by the United States, but that a great many other circumstances, peculiar to the Union itself, entered in; such, for example, as the suspension of specie payments by Italy, the growth of public opinion in favor of the gold standard, and the growing importance to commerce of the use of gold as a form of currency. The attitude of France toward the bimetallic question is also clearly shown. The distinction between the attitude of the commercial classes and that of government officials and great financiers is well brought out, as well as the peculiar interests which the French government had at stake in this controversy. In his analysis of the controversy between France and Belgium over the obligation

of the members of the Union to redeem the five franc pieces, Dr. Willis has been able to show clearly the strength of the bond which holds the various states together at the present time and prevents the dissolution of the Union.

Dr. Willis derived his information from original sources and apparently examined the greater part, if not all, of the documents which have a bearing upon this question. In his interpretation of facts he was not always able to conceal his own opinions, and the reader sometimes has occasion to wonder whether the other side has been given a fair hearing. On the whole, however, the book impresses one as an unprejudiced and careful historical study. In places the style is crude and rough, and important points are sometimes buried beneath masses of unimportant details. Dr. Willis deserves great credit for having given to the public the most complete and detailed account of this important chapter in monetary history which has yet appeared in the English language.

WILLIAM A. SCOTT.

University of Wisconsin.

The Political Economy of Humanism. By HENRY WOOD. Pp. 319. Price, \$1.25. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1901.

"He is writing about everything—like Buckle," says one of Turgenev's characters. Had Mr. Wood's book appeared sooner his name might well have been substituted by Turgenev for that of the English philosopher, for "The Political Economy of Humanism" is literally "about everything." In form it is a collection of twenty-four essays of varying length, which touch upon every question, from gold production to industrial education, and which solve all without the slightest hesitation or cavil. It certainly is not political economy, and we doubt whether or not it is humanism. Some question on the latter point seems to have existed in the author's own mind, for when first published in 1894 the book was entitled "The Political Economy of Natural Law." At that time it "was well received and called out hundreds of commendatory notices from the best class of critics and newspapers." Notwithstanding this success Mr. Wood has substituted the name *Humanism* for *Natural Law*, from which it may be a fair inference that there is some connection between the two. While, however, it has thus been doubtful whether the book was Natural Law or Humanism the author has at least been sure of one thing—it was always political economy. This is precisely where some persons will disagree with him. He confesses that it is "independent of professional methods," but aims to outline a "political economy which is natural and practical rather than artificial and

theoretical." Whether it be political economy or not Mr. Wood's book is certainly "natural," in that every man of average intelligence might be supposed to know whatever of truth it contains, while it is "practical" in that no effort is required to master it, and in that it relieves the mind of all worry concerning industrial problems by merely whistling them down the wind. If socialism is really "the political economy of the criminal classes," Mr. Wood's philosophy is the political economy of the well-to-do man of a small town who lights a cigar of the best brand and falls gently asleep after a good dinner. Its central idea is that there is somewhere in the universe a great reservoir of "Natural Law" whose benevolent influence is everywhere at work dictating that all shall go as it should, and making this earth the very best of all possible worlds, constructed and carried on by the fortunate and for the fortunate. Poverty, suffering and crime are merely incidents due to disobedience to natural law, and in nowise implying responsibility on the part of those in power.

The best that can be said of Mr. Wood's book is that it cannot do any great harm. The only danger is that some one may be deceived by its verbosity and think that there is really something in it.

H. PARKER WILLIS.

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NOTES.

I. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Personal Registration of Voters in Pennsylvania.—At the 1897 session of the Pennsylvania Legislature an amendment was introduced to make possible the introduction of personal registration in Pennsylvania. This amendment, which had been prepared for the Municipal League of Philadelphia, was introduced by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, a member of the legislature at that session. The Constitution of Pennsylvania, Article 8, Section 7, reads: "All laws regulating the holding of elections by the citizens or for the registration of electors shall be uniform throughout the state, but no elector shall be deprived of the privilege of voting by reason of his name not being registered." This last clause has rendered ineffective all attempts at personal registration as has been pointed out in a recent article in the *ANNALS*.¹ Gross registration frauds have not only been made possible, but actually carried into effect by reason of the laxity of the present laws.

The proposed amendment was defeated at the session of 1897, but was reintroduced in 1899 and passed, it being practically the only reform measure which was passed at that session. The amendment, however, was vetoed by the Governor of Pennsylvania. The Municipal League of Philadelphia through its counsel, Mr. Woodruff, assisted by Messrs George W. Guthrie of Pittsburg, W. F. Darby of Harrisburg and Henry Budd and David Wallerstein of Philadelphia, instituted proceedings to test the right of the Governor to take such action. The lower court decided against the League's contention, but the Supreme Court, the highest appellate authority in the state, unanimously sustained the League's contention that the Executive had no right to veto a proposed amendment to the constitution.

The amendment was resubmitted, as required by the constitution, to the legislature of 1901 and under the leadership of the Union Committee for the Promotion of Ballot Reform and the Merit System in Pennsylvania, was passed by both branches of the legislature.

The amendment now comes before the people of Pennsylvania at the election on November 5, 1901, for adoption. An active campaign has been instituted in its behalf throughout the state. It is receiving general support from all parties, leading Republicans and Democrats, as well as Municipal Leaguers endorsing it. In the event of the

¹ See *ANNALS*, Vol. xvii, p. 181.

people approving the amendment, it will be possible for the next legislature to adopt a system of personal registration, similar to those now in force in New York and Massachusetts. At the same election an amendment making possible the use of voting machines will be submitted to the voters. The Registration Amendment also gives the legislature power to classify the state into city and county districts.

Providence Street Railway Franchise and Transfers.¹—The local street railway company has not given transfer tickets during the nine years that its twenty-year franchise has already run, although much popular pressure has been brought to bear upon it. Intentionally or unintentionally no provision for transfer tickets was placed in the franchise grant, and now the city is quite at the mercy of the company in the matter.

The railway company has announced itself as unalterably opposed "to transfer tickets, because conductors are dishonest, and the public would take advantage and get two rides for one fare."

The company maintains furthermore, that, by reason of the peculiar construction of its lines (nearly all of them passing through a central point in the city something like the opposite spokes of a wheel), it practically furnishes the accommodation given in other cities by transfers. The people, however, have been unable to see it in that way, and have continued to want transfers. At last the company has offered transfers if permitted to give them in its own way. Its plan is to build several transfer stations at the most convenient places, on the public streets or squares, and to have (some or all) cars pass through these stations. Those wishing to transfer must ride into these stations and wait until the desired car comes in also. The plan does not impress the public at all favorably. The prospect of being penned up in the stations is not pleasing. The people are told that it works well in a town in Tennessee, but they know that in all the cities they ever had any experience of, simple tickets are given and the holder looks out for himself. The attempt was made at the last meeting of the council before the summer adjournment, to "jam" the proposal through. The committee having it in charge reported favorably—it was too bad to lose two or three months by stopping for mere discussion. The leading paper argued plausibly in the same line. But the majority of the council heard from their constituents and the matter was postponed.

Such is the situation in regard to the transfer question. The city is powerless. It can only accept or refuse such offers as the railway company sees fit to make. It cannot admit to its streets any other company which would give transfers—the present franchise is exclusive.

¹ Contributed by Dr. Sidney A. Sherman, Brown University.

It cannot raise the rate of special taxation upon the company—that is settled by the state legislature. It cannot refuse the right of extension, etc., in new streets—that would deprive the people in new districts of the means of transportation. It cannot itself enter the field with a municipal railway system on its own streets—that would break the "exclusive" contract again, and besides it would savor too much of socialism, which must never be. There is no loophole of escape.

Duluth.—Telephone System.¹ The first telephone company in Duluth, known as the "Duluth," or the "Old" Company, was either in its inception or soon thereafter became the creature of the so-called Bell Telephone "Monopoly." Its charges were felt to be extortionate, and its demeanor to patrons, as to the public, was overbearing. A new company was organized and received a twenty-five year franchise March 11, 1899. Prior to the granting of this franchise, competitive bids had been publicly called for by the city, but the "Old" company contemptuously ignored the opportunity.

The franchise of the old company has expired; but under a rather forced judicial construction of a state statute of 1881, extending to telephone companies the privilege, theretofore (in 1866) granted to telegraph companies, to build their lines over roads and highways, the old company still operates its system in defiance. It has lost many of its old patrons; but its better long distance connections have helped to keep it alive, despite its bad odor in the community at large, and it is popularly credited with leaving no stone unturned to thwart its rival or to ultimately absorb it.

The franchise of the new company was not however obtained without a struggle. The old company, whose local end comprised, directly and indirectly, many of Duluth's influential business men, made every possible effort to defeat the attempt to install this dangerous competitor. The press, in the main, was non-committal. The people, however, were thoroughly aroused against the old company, and their loyal representatives in the administrative and legislative departments of the city were in sufficient force to protect the people's interests, and the new company received its charter.

Among these conditions and restrictions may be enumerated the following:

- (a) Installation and maintenance of an improved and modern system, known as the "long distance copper wire metallic system."
- (b) Reduction of rates from \$50-\$60 per year, payable yearly in advance, the old company's then going charges, to "\$20 per year, for residence telephones, and for telephones in business houses or offices \$35 for the first year and \$30 thereafter (as the maximum

¹ Contributed by W. G. Joerns, Duluth, Minn.

charge), all payable quarterly in advance," with "but one telephone on a line." (c) Gross earnings tax, to the city, of one-half per cent, payable semi-annually, in addition to its general taxation under state law. (d) Free telephones, fifteen in number, to the city in its public offices, fire halls and public schools; use of poles and conduits for the city fire alarm and telegraph system; and public telephones, with regulated charge in the suburbs. (e) Superior connection, without extra charge. The city of Superior has also installed a new system, which has largely supplanted the old or "Bell" system at that point. (f) Supervision of construction, semi-annual audit, and original sworn statement of expenditure and annual sworn statements thereafter to the city authorities. (g) Safeguards against sale or transfer of plant or franchise or purchase of competing plants. (h) Right of purchase in city, at any time after five years, at a valuation, to be fixed by arbitration if not agreed upon, but "not to exceed the cost of duplication" plus ten per cent.

The total alleged investment of the new company, as returned on March 1 of this year, was approximately \$185,000. The number of pay telephones in use at that time was returned as 1,470, which is about double the number in use by the old company at the time the franchise was granted to the new.

The service of the new company has, in the main, been quite satisfactory and has been a substantial improvement upon the service of the old company, both before and since the entry of the new, though the old company has likewise been stimulated into better service by the competition of the new and is making all manner of concession in rates to oust its dangerous and more successful rival.

Docks.—The major part of Duluth's dock property is owned or controlled by the great transportation companies or larger commercial interests and practically all of it is private property. The city has, however, built and now maintains public docks for passengers and light freight at the foot of several streets which lead to the water's edge. These city docks are absolutely free to all.

Minnesota.—*State Primary Election Law.*¹ In 1899 the Minnesota Legislature enacted a primary election law whose salient features have been described in these pages.² At the time of its passage and again at its first trial this law excited much comment, owing to its unusual character. It was, in brief, an experiment in the largest county of the state, Hennepin, with a system whereby party nominations should be made directly by the voters, instead of through the medium of party conventions. As a direct result of the first trial of

¹Contributed by Frank Maloy Anderson, of the University of Minnesota.

²ANNALS, November, 1900, p. 146.

the law the legislature of this year has revised it in a few particulars and extended its application to the entire state. In its present form it is believed to be the most thoroughgoing attempt yet made upon a large scale to eliminate the party caucus from American political machinery; in view of this circumstance its first trial, occurring in November, 1902, will doubtless be watched with much interest.

In general, the revised law may be described as the Australian ballot system utilized for primary election purposes. The first registration day, seven weeks prior to the general election, is also the day of the primary election. After registering for the general election the voter may obtain from the judges a ballot of the party to which he declares that he belongs. If his party membership is questioned the voter must take oath that *in general* he supported that party at the last election and proposes to do the same at the approaching election. The ballot furnished to the voter contains the names of all persons who have duly announced themselves as candidates for nomination by filing their names with the appropriate county or state officials, paying their fees, and making affidavit that they belong to the party whose nomination they seek. Nearly all of the elective officers are included in this arrangement; the only exceptions are the state officials and members of park, school and library boards in towns of less than fifty thousand inhabitants. All nominations are made by plurality of the votes actually cast.

In several particulars this law is believed to be an improvement upon the original law of 1899. One of the most important changes is the elimination of the requirement that candidates for nomination must procure a petition signed by 10 per cent of the party voters in order to secure the enrollment of their names upon the ballot. Experience in the Hennepin County trial demonstrated that any candidate could obtain the requisite number of signatures, the circulation of petitions being thus found merely a waste of time and money. Another still more important change is that whereby the voter is given only one party ballot. By the original law the ballots of all parties were handed to the voter; he was expected to use that of the party to which he belonged, returning the unused ballots to the judges, who deposited all of the ballots in the box, thus insuring secrecy as to the voter's party affiliation. The possibility that some of the voters of one party would take part in the selection of candidates of another party was recognized; but it was believed that few would actually do so, since they would be compelled to forego the privilege of assisting in the nomination of their own party candidates. The trial in Hennepin County seemed to show, however, that many members of the minority party did participate in the selection of the candidates of the

majority party; in one instance it seemed probable that such votes determined the choice made. It is not expected that the new system will materially remedy this evil, although there is an opportunity afforded for challenges; the idea of the change is that the evil mentioned is a necessary one and that the new arrangement simplifies the process of counting.

While the law was under discussion its advocates made a determined effort to have it include all elective officers, especially the state officials, and only yielded the point to save the measure. The chief arguments used against their inclusion were that the law is an experiment yet and that state conventions will still be necessary for the framing of party platforms. As far as can be ascertained from the discussions in the legislature and the newspapers of the state, the demand for the enactment of the law was surprisingly general; so much so that there was no bitter opposition, similar to that which resulted in the defeat of a much less sweeping measure in Wisconsin.

Colorado.—*Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics.*¹ As early as the year 1868 an effort was made to have the question of woman suffrage considered in the Territorial Legislature of Colorado. In the year 1870 Governor McCook recommended the extension of the franchise to women and in that year a bill was brought forward in the legislature providing that the question be submitted to the people at the next election. The bill was defeated.

In the year 1876 a vigorous effort was made to have the right of women to vote recognized in the State Constitution. This was not done, but Section 2, Article 7, provided as follows: "The General Assembly may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein enumerated, but no such law shall take effect or be in force until the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election and approved by a majority of all the votes cast for or against such law." Accordingly, in 1877, the question was submitted to a vote of the electors, who decided against woman suffrage by a vote of 20,000 to 10,000. Again in 1881 a bill in behalf of woman suffrage was lost in the legislature.

In the year 1890 the agitation was renewed under the auspices of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association and in the year 1893 the General Assembly passed a bill similar to that of 1877, the majority in both houses being composed largely of Populists. At the election the people decided in favor of woman suffrage by a vote of 35,698 to 29,461.

After this notable victory many women devoted themselves to the study of civil government and allied subjects in preparation for their

¹ Contributed by Prof. J. E. Le Rossignol, University of Denver.

first exercise of the right of suffrage. The campaign of 1894 had to do with the life or death of Populism and as a rule women joined the existing parties for the purpose of deciding this momentous issue. Numerous political clubs of women were formed which took an active part in the campaign. Women attended political meetings of all kinds and finally appeared at the polls in large numbers, aiding their male fellow-citizens in deciding the fate of Populism. Similarly, in the national election of 1896 the question of free silver was the paramount issue and men and women alike took sides according to their economic convictions. No other question could have compelled the women to work in harmony with the existing party organizations, for after the campaign of 1894 many of the leading women of all parties showed a disposition to break away from party control. They had obtained an insight into political methods, had been disappointed and even deceived, and they thought that they could improve the condition of politics by operating along independent lines, especially in regard to municipal affairs. Hence the break-down of the women's political clubs and the formation of non-partisan associations, notably the Civic Federation, established in the year 1895 by a number of leading women of different political creeds.

In the municipal campaign of 1895 the Civic Federation was content to secure the nomination of some candidates and to recommend these and others by means of an endorsed list prepared for the instruction of voters. In the municipal election of 1897 the Civic Federation, in alliance with the 'Taxpayers' party, nominated a separate ticket, composed of candidates from the Republican, Democratic and Populist parties. The entire ticket was elected and the administration of the ensuing two years was one of the best that Denver has ever had.

Since the election of 1897 the Civic Federation has taken less part in active politics and in the recent municipal election it took no part at all. The work of the Federation has fallen on the shoulders of the leading members who find that it demands a great amount of time and energy, that it is wholly unremunerative from a financial point of view and that it is not properly appreciated by the public at large nor even by any considerable fraction of women voters themselves. They have, therefore, become somewhat discouraged and have latterly confined their attention to the advocacy of the reforms in which they are interested by other than the usual political methods. For a time, after their first enthusiasm was over, women largely ceased to attend primaries and conventions, while still performing their duty as voters, but more recently there has been a revival of activity, especially in connection with the regular parties. The Bryan Woman's Democratic Club of Colorado has a membership of about 10,000, and the

Woman's Republican League of Colorado is very large and influential, with headquarters in Denver and auxiliary leagues in every part of the state.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the value of woman suffrage to Colorado, because of the diversity of opinion on the subject and because it is not yet possible to prove either the success or failure of the system from the point of view of social expediency. At the first election it is claimed that over fifty per cent of the total vote was cast by women and at the present time the women's vote probably amounts to at least forty per cent of the total vote. There is no distinct or independent women's vote. It is stated on good authority that at the last election at least ten per cent of married women cast ballots different from those cast by their husbands. Women have not been harmed but rather benefited by the franchise and in many cases they take an intelligent and earnest interest in political questions.

The character of the leading women politicians is high. At first many of the leading society and club women of Colorado took an active part in political work. Then many of them withdrew from political life and some women of undesirable manners took their place. Latterly these undesirable persons have been pushed out of the party organizations and at the present time the women's organizations are led by representative women of high character and ability. It is stated by a well-known politician that committee women are more reliable than men, taking greater pride in their work and securing better results.

Women are not clamorous for office and it is often difficult to induce them to become candidates. Since 1894 ten women have sat as representatives in the legislative assembly. In the same time there have been three state superintendents of education, all women, the present incumbent now serving for a second term. Women have served acceptably as members of various state boards, notably the Board of Charities and Corrections and the governing boards of the State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children and the State Home and Industrial School for Girls. Women have exerted a civilizing influence upon the character of political meetings. They have, at times, exerted an influence toward securing the nomination of respectable candidates and the presence of women in political conventions tends toward improvement in this respect.

A considerable proportion of women is as yet somewhat independent of party control, forming an unknown quantity which disturbs the calculations of party managers. This unknown quantity, called by some independence, by others fickleness, may be regarded as

counting against rather than for political trickery and corrupt practices.

Since the introduction of woman suffrage some reforms have been accomplished wholly or in part through the influence of women. Among these may be mentioned the law securing co-equal guardianship of children, the law raising the age of consent to eighteen years, the curfew law, the law providing for indeterminate sentence, the law removing the emblems from the ballot, the establishment of the Home for Dependent Children and the Industrial School for Girls. The Civic Federation and other women's organizations have also favored other reforms not yet secured.

People who expected that society would be utterly and immediately regenerated through the influence of woman suffrage have been grievously disappointed and many of them, both men and women, consider the experiment a total failure and would be glad to see the old system restored. Woman suffrage has not purified politics to any great extent. Corrupt practices are as common in Colorado as in any other state and it is a question whether there is less political corruption at the present time than there was before 1894. While saloons have been abolished in many small towns and country districts, largely through the influence of women, in the city of Denver and in other large towns the saloon flourishes under the protection of favoring laws and in open defiance of such restrictions as are by law established. The political character of the Fire and Police Board is held to be responsible for this condition of affairs in the city of Denver and it must be said that the Civic Federation and other women's organizations have tried to secure home rule for Denver, without success. The social evil has not been abated through the influence of woman suffrage and in general it may be said that no marked social or political transformation has yet been accomplished by this means.

For all that, it is safe to say that woman suffrage has done no harm while it has done some good and that it has been adopted by Colorado "for better, for worse."

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Wyoming.¹—*Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics.* July 25, 1868, President Johnson approved a bill erecting the territory of Wyoming. This law extended suffrage to men only. The new government was inaugurated the following year. John A. Campbell, the governor, was a Republican, and William H. Bright, the president of the upper house of the legislature, was a Democrat. Mrs. Ester Morris, of Cheyenne, at once interested these two men in woman's suffrage, and before the year 1869 had closed Wyoming had extended to women the privilege of voting. The act had no political significance. The next year an effort was made to repeal the law, but the governor vetoed the bill, and the enemies of woman's suffrage failed to secure the vote necessary to pass the bill over the governor's veto. The law remained in force as long as Wyoming was a territory.

When, in 1889, the constitutional convention met, the opposition to universal suffrage had almost disappeared. A few persons asked that the question of woman's suffrage be submitted as a separate article, to be voted on apart from the constitution, hoping to defeat the measure in this manner. While their petition was denied by the convention the members asserted the belief that the measure would receive a large majority of the votes if it should be thus submitted. Suffrage, without regard to sex, is now guaranteed by Wyoming's constitution to all citizens of the United States, who can read the constitution and who have resided the required length of time in any county of Wyoming.

Men and women alike justify the extension of suffrage on democratic grounds only, and the many arguments offered for and against woman's suffrage in the eastern states fail under an actual test. That I might give a perfectly fair statement of the workings of woman's suffrage I have interviewed men and women in every county of the state but one. The following opinions were expressed by them:

Women vote, but it is necessary to send carriages for them and to use all the influence at the command of the political committees to get the women to the polls. Since voters are required to register in the cities and larger villages, the expense of carriage hire is quite

¹ Contributed by Prof. H. H. Roberts, University of Wyoming.

an item, but an absolutely necessary one. Yet there are women who refuse to ride in these carriages, and in two of the cities leagues were formed in which the members pledged themselves to walk to the polls.

Members of the "central committees" declare that at least 90 per cent of the voters register. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the relative number of the men and women who do not register, yet the majority hold that there is no difference in the number.

The following statements of five precincts of Laramie will give a good idea of the conditions existing in the state:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Number of men registered | 904 |
| " " women registered | 617 |
| " " men who voted | 844 |
| " " women " | 570 |

Thus ninety-three per cent of men registering voted, while ninety-two per cent of women registering voted.

In the country precincts there is a proportionately greater number of women who do not vote. Distance from the polls, small children in the family and illness are the most frequent excuses given. About one-third of the women declare themselves opposed to woman's exercising the right of suffrage, yet they go to the polls and vote. Many prominent women have said that the working of woman's suffrage is disappointing to women.

In answer to this question, "Is there a law in the statute books of Wyoming placed there through woman's influence?" Several hundred women have answered frankly that "there is not one." A few women gave the women credit for two laws, the "law of distribution of property of a deceased person," and the "law of consent," while other women denied that the women had anything to do with the passing of these laws.

When asked why women have not forced temperance legislation the following reasons have been given by the women: "The women are too few." "We must consider the effect of our stand on our husband's business and political aspirations." "We lack leaders." A comparison of the relative number of men and women in the table given above shows that the number of women is at least 40 per cent of the number of men. A leading politician related the following: "Several years ago, at the city election in my city, there was a straight issue between the temperance and saloon forces, my party espoused the cause of temperance, the workers refused to have anything to do with the management of the campaign, hence very few women voted, and quite as many voted for the saloon candidates as for the friends of temperance." One of the most prominent women

of the state said: "Woman's suffrage does not affect the temperance question."

What good has woman's suffrage done for the state? It has purified politics, cleaner candidates are nominated and the elections are more orderly. Yet the same changes can be found in almost any community of the same size in the east. There are no large cities in this state to compare with the cities of the east. The women frequently complain that men are less courteous under the present condition—a charge that seems to have no foundation. Leading women have said: "The men do not want us at the primaries, but they want our vote." Hence few attend the primaries or convention. There are a very few women elected to office. Usually the county superintendent of schools is a woman, and there is at least one woman in the state who is serving as a member of a school board. The women are not seekers after office.

While the opinions expressed above are the conclusions of several hundred persons in all parts of the state, the following are my own conclusions after studying the question for three years:

No evil has resulted from woman's suffrage. The women of Wyoming are much more tolerant than their sisters of the east. Prejudice does not influence political actions to any great extent. They do things on business principles. While they usually vote with their party and their husbands,¹ they form an uncertain element in politics that is an excellent restraining influence on the action of party leaders. While the women do not serve on school boards they dominate the school meetings and practically control the schools of the state, the advantage of woman's suffrage being very evident here. Women are not unsexed, nor is family harmony disturbed. Whatever the cause may be, man as well as woman, has greater rights under the laws of Wyoming than under the laws of Ohio. Woman's influence has been general rather than specific.

Nebraska.²—*Municipal Legislation of 1901.* The last session of the legislature was not fruitful of important enactments. A contest for the election of two United States Senators (one to fill a vacancy) unusually prolonged and bitter, and terminating only upon the eve of adjournment, absorbed the major portion of the members' time and energy. This furnished an effective argument in favor of popular election of senators which even the legislature itself recognized by a memorial to Congress requesting that body to call a convention for the

¹ The secretary of the central committee in a town of 2,000 voters says that there are but six families where the politics of husband and wife differ.

² Contributed by Charles Sumner Lobingier of the Omaha bar, Professor of Law in the University of Nebraska.

purpose of so amending the Federal Constitution as to provide for popular election. In spite, however, of the distractions of canvassing and caucusing, the legislature found time to pass 122 acts and resolves and though hardly any of them were of first importance, many of them, such as those providing for an inheritance tax and for the relief of the Supreme Court by the appointment of commissioners, were greatly desired. In the domain of Municipal Legislation the new laws are of rather less general importance than in other departments. The charter of Lincoln was changed considerably and many new features added, among the most important of which was the creation of the office of tax commissioner. The validity of this charter was early attacked in the courts but the Supreme Court has filed an opinion sustaining it, though at the present writing a motion for a rehearing is still pending. Amendments were also made to the charters of smaller cities—those from 25,000 to 40,000 and from 5,000 to 25,000, but these are largely of local interest. The Nebraska constitution prohibits the legislature from passing laws applicable in terms to a single municipality but this is evaded by passing charters which, though in terms general, are so framed as to apply only to particular cities. In this way we have the "Lincoln Charter" the "Omaha Charter," etc., though each of these purports to govern all cities of a certain population. No change was made at the recent session in the charter applying to Omaha, though several measures for that purpose were pending, notably bills for increasing the salaries of certain city officials. An act was passed, however (which as it applies to cities over 50,000 affects only Omaha), providing for the appointment of a board for the examination and licensing of plumbers and the inspection of their work, with power to enact certain rules intended to secure sanitary plumbing. This board has already been appointed and has begun its work. An act was also passed authorizing all cities of the first and second classes (*i. e.*, those under 100,000) to establish and maintain plants for supplying "heat or light" to the inhabitants at rates to be fixed by the city council and to levy a tax not exceeding two mills on the assessed valuation of the city for that purpose. The act providing for a Public Library Commission, to encourage and assist in the formation of new libraries, is expected to aid in the development of municipal libraries in the smaller cities and towns.

II. SOCIOLOGY.

The Determining of Genius.—Professor Lombroso contributes an article to the October *Monist* on "The Determining of Genius." He contends that the generally accepted theory that heredity and surrounding influences determine genius is inadequate. To show this he enumerates several cases, including those of Angelo, Poe and Ricardo. Angelo became a great painter and sculptor in spite of parental influence. Poe's people were Puritans. Ricardo's training was in business, but more than a business type of mind was required for the power of logical analysis, and the intricate deductive reasoning displayed in the writings of Ricardo.

The determining causes of genius are found to be a combination of strong individual tendencies with a strong sensorial impression made during adolescence. While men are under external influences and strong sensations all the time, they yield to impressions most about the age of puberty. Later in life man's ways are more fixed, and he is possessed with sentiments and ideas of his own which resist other impressions. Professor Lombroso points out a great many cases to show how the bent to the career of great men was given during the period of adolescence. John Stuart Mill was greatly impressed during this period by reading his father's "History of India." School had but little influence upon Darwin, but a copy of a journey around the world inspired him to observation and gave him his interest in science.

The writer seemed unwilling to close his article without attacking the classical tendency in the Italian system of education. In accordance with his theory, he believes that a technical, scientific and industrial system of education would be a powerful leverage in raising his country industrially and commercially.

The North American Indian.—With the recent publication of the "Jesuit Relations," by Burrows Bros., of Cleveland, there seems to be a revival of interest in the Indian, with a view to determine his real character. The "Jesuit Relations" were first published by Cramoisy, of Paris, and issued in forty annual volumes from 1632 to 1673. In the new edition, which is edited by R. G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Association, the English translation is published along with the original French and Latin texts. The work consists of seventy-three volumes, contains some allied documents, and covers the period from 1610 to 1791. While the "Jesuit Relations" are primarily religious, they contain the most complete ethnological account of the Indian we have.

Based upon the accounts of the Jesuits, Mr. A. L. Benedict discusses, in the *International Journal of Ethics*, the question, "Has the Indian been misjudged?" He replies affirmatively, claiming that the lack of ethnological knowledge and the unsympathetic view of those who described him stood in the way of accurate information. The Jesuit lacked the ethnological knowledge, but he, above all others, took an interest in the Indian.

The ill-treatment of the women by the men, the writer thinks, has been greatly exaggerated. The woman did the housework and prepared the food, while man procured it, a division of employment recognized by the European. When we picture the Indian hunter and fisher we usually associate him with our modern hunters and fishermen who pursue these occupations for pleasure. With the Indian fishing and hunting was a serious business, often entailing much pain and labor, struggling frequently at the point of starvation to secure food.

The writer finds in the Indian language, with its "fine rhetorical distinctions" and "elaborate inflections," an evidence of a power of analysis and a vigor of intellect seldom credited to the Indian. In acquiring foreign languages quicker than the European learned his language, we find another evidence of his mental ability. He was also a skillful workman, his delicate handiwork bearing evidence of this.

Cruelty is perhaps the most serious charge preferred against the Indian. But it is doubtful whether the tortures imposed by the Indian were much more brutal than those imposed by the European several centuries ago. His wars were waged usually to settle boundary disputes or to avenge some injury, and not to satisfy his thirst for blood, as is often supposed.

In the religion of the Indian we find an analogy to the ethical ideals of the European religions. The idea of a creative spirit and a future life, where the good should be rewarded, was general in the Indian religions. He possessed a more primitive belief in a number of ways, prominent among which was a failure to distinguish between the animate and inanimate. Dreams were messages from the spirit world which had to be strictly fulfilled.

It is thought that a familiarity with the Indian, as seen from the "Jesuit Relations," will give a loftier view of him than that generally held.

The Alsea Indians of Oregon.—An article on the Alsea Indians, of Oregon, was contributed to a recent number of the *American Anthropologist*, by Livingston Farrand. This tribe is now located on the Siletz reservation in Oregon. Their tribal seat was near the

mouth of the Alsea river, on the Oregon coast, between latitude 44 and 45 degrees. To the north were the Yaquina, to the south the Siuslaw, both friendly tribes. The Alsea and Siuslaw were the most southerly tribes that practiced the head deformation by fronto-occipital pressure. The tribes living south of these practiced tattooing.

The Alsea believed that the earth was flat and floating in water. There was also a sky country where men and women went to live at the time of the great transformation. There was also an under world concerning which little was known, but where people who were bad here went to live. The entrance to this place was through the air, and over the edge of the earth. There was also a good place upon the earth, the abode of the good spirits, where there was no wind and rain, and plenty of salmon and game.

The dead were placed in huts and canoes with plenty of food. It was believed that the dead moved about and that they could help the living. They thought that the earth was one time inhabited by birds and animals in human shape, and the best places were held by monsters. Shiō'h, the great transformer, changed them into their present forms, and took some of them with him up into the sky country.

The people were divided into nobility, common people and slaves. It was possible for the common people to rise to the rank of nobility, but it was impossible for slaves to rise.

The men usually married out of the tribe and wife purchase prevailed. Frequently the family of a man assisted him in purchasing a wife. After marriage the price paid was refunded by the wife's family in the form of feasts and gifts. If a child died the wife's family had to make a payment. If the wife proved unfaithful her family had to pay also.

The families were segregated into groups. The property of deceased persons passed into the hands of relatives, regardless of nearness of kin. The traditions of the tribe were associated with the transformer. These traditions were related only in January, and were told each evening, beginning each time where they left off the previous evening.

III. PHILANTHROPY, CHARITIES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

The Glasgow Family Home.—The London *Municipal Journal* recently published an account of the Municipal Family Home in Glasgow, expressing surprise that no municipal authority in England has thought fit to follow its example. The object in establishing the Family Home was to make provision for those who, through the unfortunate death of a husband or a wife, are unable to struggle with the up-bringing of a family of small children. It was originally designed to accommodate both sexes, but after two or three years' experience, it was found desirable to limit its facilities to men—the committee being of the opinion that men left with children are more helpless than widows under similar circumstances. The house contains 160 single bedrooms, plainly furnished, each capable of accommodating one adult and three children; a common dining room, a kitchen with gas fires and steam cooking boilers, baths and lavatories. The rent of a bedroom varies from 4s. to 5s. per week, according to the number of children occupying the room with the parent. Regular meals are cooked and supplied to the inmates at the lowest possible charges.

Exemption of Hospital for Injuries to Paying Patient.—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals has decided in the case of *Powers vs. The Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital*, that the fact that a public hospital chartered as a charitable corporation exacts and receives a pecuniary consideration from a patient does not affect its character as a charitable institution, or its rights or liabilities as such in relation to such patient. The court held that the payment to a hospital for treatment and care was in the nature of charitable aid to the hospital, and was not to be considered as full compensation for the services rendered. A paying patient stands precisely as if he had been admitted without payment, both seeking and receiving the services of a public charity. Such patient admitted to a charity hospital cannot recover judgment against the hospital for injuries caused by the negligence of a nurse employed therein provided due care has been used by the hospital in selecting the nurse.

Organized Charity in Hawaii.—The Associated Charities of Hawaii, which was established on March 27, 1899, has its headquarters in Honolulu. There are eighteen affiliated societies, and the Associated Charities appears likely to perform a useful service, notwithstanding the fact that there is comparatively little real destitution in the islands.

Employment in New York.—The *Bulletin* of the New York Department of Labor reports that the returns from the labor organizations for the months of April, May and June show that employment in that state was better during the past summer than in any of the past five years.

Child Labor in the South.—The owners of cotton mills in Georgia have taken steps toward the restriction of child labor. They have put into effect an agreement that no child under twelve years of age, excepting children of widowed mothers or physically disabled parents without other means of support, shall be allowed to work in mills, unless a certificate is shown of school attendance for four months in the year. It is also agreed that no child under ten years of age shall be allowed to work in mills either day or night. The following paragraph, added to the general agreement on child labor, was posted in the Lindale branch of the Massachusetts Mills, near Rome: "The Massachusetts Mills in Georgia have built and equipped a first-class school in which every child in the village can be educated without one cent of expense to the child's family, and although we cannot compel the attendance of children of school age, it is earnestly requested by the management of this company that every such child attend."

The mill owners of South Carolina have also petitioned the legislature for a minimum age limit of ten years for day work and twelve for night work, and urge the enactment of a compulsory education law.

Insurance of Paupers and Child Insurance.—The Lawrence, Mass., *Telegram* intimates that local undertakers not infrequently administer the estates of those who have been supported by the city in the almshouse. It appears that the undertakers bury the paupers and then take over their life insurance to recompense themselves. Inquiry seems to show, says the Boston *Advertiser*, that the practice is not peculiar to Lawrence. It is certain that in New York City undertakers often take possession of insurance documents and pay over to the survivors what is left after the deduction of the funeral expenses. It may well be that the community would not begrudge to undertakers any insurance which they may be able to collect on the death of adult paupers. The effect, however, of child insurance in stimulating extravagant funerals is a more serious matter, and has not received the attention it deserves in the consideration of the vexed subject of child insurance.

In this connection it may not be amiss to notice that the city of St. Paul has contracted for the burial of its pauper dead for the ensuing year at the rate of \$1.05 for adults and seventy-five cents for infants. The estimated cost of a burial, including a stained pine coffin, is \$3, yet at these prices there is stated to be profit for the contractor. There

is sufficient contrast to stimulate reflection between the amounts named and the \$125 and \$150 frequently expended by people whose savings do not amount to a week's income, and whose dearly bought insurance slightly exceeds the extravagant amounts thus expended.

Report on Penal Codes of France, Germany, and Japan.—A report prepared by Mr. Samuel J. Barrows, Commissioner for the United States on the International Prison Commission, and presented to Congress by the Secretary of State, has been issued from the Government Printing Office. It relates to the Penal Code of France, Germany, Belgium, and Japan, and consists of monographs prepared by specialists in the countries named. It appears that in its ideals of prison administration Japan ranks with the most progressive nations of Europe. It has centralized its prison administration, securing the resultant advantages of uniformity and economy. It has established a school for the training of higher prison officers, with a program in penology, prison hygiene, criminal psychology, and other pertinent subjects. Amended prison regulations provide a more liberal diet, participation by prisoners in their earnings, and the congregate system of labor. An association for the purpose of improving the prisons was established in Japan in 1888. It now has a membership of 10,000 and publishes a monthly magazine. There are also twenty-five societies for aiding discharged convicts. In the other three countries in the report, modern revisions have eliminated the harsher measures of the code, which, however, still continues to furnish the basis of French penal law. Mr. Barrows' report, however, traces influences from Roman sources and indicates the changes which have been dictated by the more humane modern spirit.

Charities of Porto Rico.—The first annual report of the Governor of Porto Rico for the year ending May 1, 1901, contains some interesting information concerning the progress made in the development and organization of the charities of the island in the ten months beginning April 30, 1900, during which period there was a Board of Charities existing under authority of the military government. In the schools for orphan children at Santurce, the sanitary improvements were entirely reconstructed, the schools being closed for two months, teachers dismissed and new ones employed. Under the new direction, industries were introduced of what appear to be of a suitable character. The insane asylum was enlarged and improved and contains 154 inmates evenly divided between the sexes. The condition of the lepers, of whom there are probably about sixty on the island, early claimed attention. After careful consideration and investigation the Isla de Cabras, at the entrance of the harbor of San Juan, was selected as a place suitable for their colonization, buildings were fitted up and

the lepers were removed to the colony in November of last year. At the time of the report there were seventeen leprosy persons there attended by the necessary employees. The remaining lepers then at large on the island were soon to be conveyed to the colony.

The hospitals of Porto Rico are not directly under insular control, their support, inspection and government being left to the local authorities in each municipality. In the sixty-six municipal districts there are forty hospitals or structures which are called by that name. In many cases they are mere sheds without proper equipment or attendants. There are also nineteen asylums in which the same defects prevail. More than half the population of the island is unprovided with any sort of hospital accommodation. The governor in his report suggests that the whole subject of hospitals and asylums throughout the island would be much better managed if it were placed under the control of the Board of Health and the Director of Charities, and that a complete reform and reasonable efficiency cannot be expected until this is done. There is much to be done in the care of the blind, paralytic, epileptic, and other incurables, also of the aged paupers and other unfortunates for which the current revenues are at present inadequate.

Lack of Bathing Facilities in Chicago.—From reports of the voluntary inspectors working in the tenement-house districts of Chicago it has been ascertained that ninety per cent of the flat buildings in the ghetto and other tenement districts are unprovided with bath tubs. These buildings in which the tenants are given no opportunity to bathe are occupied by over 180,000 persons, according to the estimates made by the officials of the health department.

The bathing facilities that are provided for the 20,000 other persons who reside in the tenement houses are not of the best. In many of the flat buildings a score of families are compelled to use the one bath tub that has been placed in one part of the building. The medical inspectors declare that on warm days the members of the various families occupying the tenement houses can be found limp in front of the bath-room doors waiting their chance to bathe.

Illinois State Board of Charities.—The letters of Miss Julia C. Lathrop and Dr. Emil J. Hirsch tendering their resignations as members of the State Board of Charities of Illinois, which are published in full in the *Charities* of August 17, are worthy of careful consideration in all communities in which charitable institutions are still controlled by political influences.

List of Charity Organization Societies.—The annual report of the New York Charity Organization Society publishes a list of charity organization societies in America which are in correspondence with

each other as occasion arises. The list which will be published in the forthcoming report will contain the names of about twenty societies which have not previously appeared. The list is rigidly revised each year and societies from whom information as to location, name of corresponding offices, etc., cannot be obtained, are omitted. It is requested that any who may see this notice and who know of any new societies whether called by the name of associated charities, charity organization society, or any similar title, will communicate with the editor of this department.

Change in Character of Insanity.—The superintendent of a state asylum in New England reports a marked change in the character of insanity in recent years. Thirty years ago the maniacal patients, or those with symptoms of excitement, were twice the number of those exhibiting mental depression or melancholia. Among the patients admitted during the last seven years, the number of cases characterized by depression has been larger by far than the maniacal cases. The reports of the New York State Commission in Lunacy for the past four or five years report similar observations and especially note the change in general paresis from the exalted to the depressed symptoms. The point is of social significance generally, as well as pathological, indicating the progress of degeneracy as well as the sources and character of modern mental strain.

Conference on Poor Relief and Charity in Germany.—The annual meeting of the German Union for Poor Relief and Charity was held September 11 to 14, at Lübeck. The topics discussed were as follows: (1) "Poor Relief in Foreign Lands," by Münsterberg; (2) "The Relations of Official Relief to the Insurance Departments," by Olshausen and Helling; (3) "Social Extension of Care of the Poor," by Flesch and Soetbeer; (4) "Care of the Household in Distress," by V. Hollander; (5) "The Task of Poor Relief in Respect to Inebriates," by Sauter and Waldschmidt.

The Canadian Conference.—The Fourth Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction was held in Toronto, September 25. Mr. Alexander Johnson, of Fort Wayne, Ind., was present by special invitation and gave a number of addresses. Among the subjects receiving special attention at the conference were Child's Saving, Organization and Co-operation, and Prison Reform. Mr. A. Brown, of Hamilton, was elected president for the ensuing year and Dr. Rosebrugh, of Toronto, remains secretary.

IV. COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

Philippines.—The new system of local government introduced in the Philippines has excited much comment throughout the United States. Considerable time was spent upon the preparation of the system by the second commission, and the general plan of local government which has been evolved is of great interest, not only by reason of its influence upon the Philippines, but also as an experiment whose results may be utilized in our other dependencies. The framework of local government has been founded upon two laws, governing respectively the municipality and the province. The law of municipal organization, which is the more important and fundamental of the two, provides for a complete and rather highly developed municipal system, which is to be applied at the discretion of the civil and military authorities in any part of the archipelago. The prevalent Anglo-Saxon distinction between rural and urban government, so well-known in the United States, has not been introduced by the legislator for the Philippines, but the municipality is made to comprise both urban and rural territory.

Each *municipio* is given the usual corporate powers. The government is composed of a president, vice-president, municipal council and certain appointed officers, such as the secretary and treasurer. The president, vice-president and council are elected at large in the municipality and hold office for two years. The number of members in the council varies from eight to eighteen, according to the population, there being four classes. The municipality is divided into wards or *barrios*.

The suffrage qualifications are relatively high; electors must be male persons twenty-three years of age or over, resident in the municipality, and must either have held certain important municipal offices prior to August, 1898, or own real estate to the value of five hundred dollars, or pay thirty dollars of taxes annually, or speak, read and write English or Spanish. Each elector is required to subscribe to an oath of allegiance to the United States. Persons in arms against the authority of the United States since the first day of April, 1901, or contributing to the insurgent cause since that time, are disqualified. The first election is to be held on the first Tuesday of December, 1901, and annually thereafter. The president of the municipality prepares the voting register, appeals from which may be taken to a registry board consisting of the vice-president, municipal treasurer and president. The elections are presided over by a board of election judges, who are chosen by certain members of the municipal council.

The powers of the president are extremely important and far-reaching. Besides the usual responsibility for the execution of municipal ordinances, he is required to examine the books of municipal employees, control the local police, assist in the collection of taxes and in the holding of certain public auctions, to hold hearings upon complaints respecting the violations of public ordinances and impose punishments for such violations, preside at the meetings of the municipal council, approve ordinances adopted by the council or veto the same, and appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the majority of the council, a municipal treasurer, a municipal secretary, and all other appointed officers of the municipality. He may also suspend and, by and with the advice and consent of the council, discharge such officers. The president's symbol of authority is a black, gold-headed cane with silver cord and tassels. The powers of the municipal secretary and treasurer respectively are such as naturally fall to these offices. The maximum salaries of the president, secretary and treasurer are fixed by the law according to the class of municipality.

Service in elected municipal offices is compulsory, except for those who are physically disabled or are sixty-five years of age, or have previously discharged the duties of the office. Re-election to any municipal office may not occur until two years after the first term has expired. No municipal officer is allowed to be interested directly or indirectly in any municipal contract, or in the purchase or sale of any real estate or other property by the municipality. Curiously enough, violators of this provision are only required to be removed from office upon a two-thirds vote of the council. The powers of the council are, on the whole, more extensive and important than might be expected under conditions such as those existing in the Philippines.

Besides approving or rejecting the nominations made by the president, the council is required to prescribe the duties and salaries of appointed employees, to fix the limits of municipal wards, fill permanent vacancies in the office of vice-president or councillor, make appropriations for necessary municipal expenditures, levy taxes within certain limits, manage the municipal property, erect needful buildings, provide for street lighting, sprinkling and cleaning, regulate the construction, care and use of streets, wharves and piers, suppress nuisances, prohibit unsanitary acts, construct and repair bridges, and sewers, regulate burial of dead, the establishment of slaughter-houses and markets and the inspection of the same, the inspection of various articles of food, take measures to prevent the spread of disease, establish and maintain a police department, provide against gambling houses and opium joints, restrain riots and disorderly assemblies, suppress vagrancy, provide for inspection of weights and measures, establish a post

office and postal service in harmony with the rules prescribed by the central government, establish and maintain municipal prisons and schools, regulate and license the sale of liquor and make such regulations and ordinances not repugnant to law "as may be necessary to carry into effect and to discharge the powers and duties conferred by this act, and such as shall seem necessary and proper to provide for the health and safety, promote the prosperity, improve the morals, peace, good order, comfort and convenience of the municipality and the inhabitants thereof, and for the protection of property therein." In addition to these important powers the council is further authorized, in its discretion, to order the suspension or removal for cause of any non-elective officer by two-thirds vote of all the members, to provide for the care of the poor, the sick and the insane, to purchase, lease and, with the approval of the provincial governor, to sell or mortgage the property of the municipality, to employ attorneys for the defence of the municipality, to provide for the establishment of certain public institutions, such as markets, public stables, bathing establishments, wharves, municipal cemeteries and ferries, and to fix reasonable fees for the use of the same, to provide for the establishment and maintenance of special and provisional institutions of learning, to construct and maintain water works, to license, tax or prohibit cock fighting, to license public vehicles, cafés, hotels and other amusements.

The municipal finances are provided for in some detail. The local revenues are devoted entirely to local purposes, and are derived exclusively from the following sources:

1. An *ad valorem* real estate tax of not less than one-fourth of one per cent and not more than one-half of one per cent.
2. A fee for the privilege of fisheries.
3. Fees for certificates of ownership of cattle, rents and profits from municipal property.
4. Licenses or rentals from certain institutions of a quasi-public character established and maintained by private persons.
5. Fees for tuition in the higher or provisional schools.
6. Licenses.
7. Fines.
8. Wagon taxes.

All taxes, licenses and fees are fixed by ordinance, but no octroi taxes are permitted. The proceeds of at least one-fourth of one per cent of the taxes on lands are required to be devoted to the support of free public schools. The municipal treasurer prepares an annual statement of the income and expenditures during the preceding year, which is reported to the provincial treasurer and is further audited by the council. The council prepares the annual budget in the form

prescribed by the provincial treasurer, the latter approves the budget if the estimated expenses are within the probable receipts. All taxes and other revenues of the municipality are collected by the provincial treasurer and transmitted to the municipal treasurer. For the purpose of taxation the municipal president, treasurer and a deputy of the provincial treasurer are constituted a board known as the municipal board of assessors. Appeals from this board are taken to a provincial board.

The Provincial Government Act provides for an admirably arranged system of provinces, which dovetail into the municipal system. The provinces are corporate bodies with the usual powers to acquire, control and convey property. The principal officers are the governor, secretary, treasurer, supervisor and fiscal or attorney. The governor is chosen by a convention of all the municipal councilors in the province, the election being subject to the approval of the central government. The provincial secretary, treasurer, supervisor and attorney are appointed and removed by the central government. The governor is the chief executive of the province. He enforces the sentences of the courts, controls the local police, suspends municipal officers, presides over the provincial board, visits each municipality once every six months, hears complaints against the conduct of executive officers of the municipality, controls the provincial jail, employs such deputies and assistants as are necessary to the discharge of his duties and fixes their salaries.

The provincial secretary records the governor's acts, is custodian of all provincial records and documents, and performs the duties of governor during the absence of the latter. The provincial treasurer is the chief financial officer of the province; he superintends the appraisement and assessment of real estate in all the municipalities of the province, directs the collection of taxes levied by the central, provincial and municipal governments respectively, appoints deputies and clerks, acts as collector of internal revenues for the province, is custodian of the provincial funds and reports annually to the insular treasurer.

The provincial supervisor directs the construction, repair and maintenance of roads, bridges and ferries within the province, except those within the inhabited portions of the municipalities. He determines which highways shall be supported by the municipal government and which by the provincial government; and is also charged with the construction and repair of public buildings belonging to the provincial government, awards contracts with the approval of the provincial board and reports monthly upon the condition of the roads to the latter board. The provincial fiscal is the legal adviser of the

provincial government and represents that government in all suits to which it is a party. The fiscal is also the adviser of the council and president of each municipality within the province, and acts as district attorney in prosecuting criminals. The fiscal is under the supervision of the insular attorney-general and reports to the latter officer. The governor, the treasurer and the supervisor constitute the provincial board, with power to levy provincial taxes on real estate, provide for court houses and jails, review action of the provincial supervisor in highway matters, direct the opening of a suit in behalf of the provincial government, direct the issue of warrants upon the provincial treasurer for certain purposes, provide for the appointment of subordinate employees under the various provincial officers and fix their salaries. All repairs or construction of roads or buildings involving a greater expenditure than five hundred dollars must be allotted to the lowest responsible bidder after due advertisement for bids. The insular treasurer is empowered to make inspections of the books and papers of provincial treasurers.

The system as outlined above has been applied in many different portions of the archipelago with results which have been variously estimated by different observers. The points which are most open to discussion in the plan of government presented are the lack of distinction between rural and urban districts, the extensive powers given to the municipal council, the division of responsibility for appointments and removals between the president and the council of the municipality and the method of choosing the provincial governor.

It will be doubted by many whether the more sparsely populated portions of the country should not be given a separate rural form of organization; the rural sections of Spanish dependencies generally have been deprived of most of the municipal services for which they have none the less been compelled to pay taxes. Many of these sections are so sparsely populated as to present little basis for a highly developed form of government. They are incapable of bearing any great burden of taxation and might therefore be given a district form of government with perhaps appointed officials. The most urgent need of the rural sections is the school and the road. After this comes the necessity for an efficient rural police, sanitary regulations and a judicial organization.

In the Philippines we are confronted by a double necessity: First, the establishment of an efficient administrative system, and, second, the necessity of teaching the people to govern themselves. At the present time an efficient administration is more important than self-government, it therefore should be accomplished, even at some sacrifice of the elective principle. When the Filipinos come to learn local

self-government, nothing will be more stimulating than the example of a model system of administration even though carried on by appointed officials. If we are squarely placed before the alternative of choosing for the Philippines a good road system or a liberal plan of local self-government we must inevitably decide in favor of good roads. The same reasoning will apply to schools and to all the other branches of local activity. From this point of view much might be said in favor of giving both the president of the municipality and the governor of the province more power than they at present exercise and of conferring the power to appoint these officers upon the central government rather than making them elective. From similar motives it might appear advantageous to give the president and governor respectively the entire control over appointments and removals in their respective administrative districts. The policy of requiring the consent of a collective body to the selection of administrative officials is open to grave objections. This policy has been adopted in the United States almost universally and almost universally it has resulted in the dictation of appointments by the collective body, whether it be the national senate, the state senate or the city council. It is to be regretted that this feature was embodied in the local government of the Philippines. On the whole, however, the plan is one which should work admirably in those sections of the archipelago where stable conditions have actually been restored. The system adopted will doubtless form the foundation for a permanent spirit of local autonomy which, under favorable conditions, should result in the rapid education of the people in things political.

V. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

Recent Movements of Prices in the United States.—The question is asked on every hand: Is American prosperity at an end? Is it indeed true that the United States, having reached the zenith of good times, must now descend into the valley of industrial depression? Prosperity is largely a question of prices. As long as the prices of commodities are well sustained, business men can meet their obligations when due, corporation earnings continue large, the values of securities, although they may individually decline, are not generally and seriously affected; a ready sale is found for all products, and both employment and wages are well sustained. These favorable conditions, taken together, make up what we know as prosperity. The following table of export prices, compiled from the financial tables of the Monthly Summary of Finance and Commerce for July, 1901, throws some light on the industrial situation:

MONTHLY AVERAGE EXPORT PRICES OF PRINCIPAL DOMESTIC ARTICLES.

| | Unit. | 1900. | | 1901. | | |
|---|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | July. | Oct. | Jan. | April. | July. |
| 1. Breadstuffs—Corn . . . | Bu. | \$0 473 | \$0 469 | \$0 441 | \$0 494 | \$0 506 |
| 2. Wheat | Bu. | 741 | 723 | 712 | 738 | 728 |
| 3. " Flour | Bbl. | 3 89 | 3 71 | 3 70 | 3 74 | 3 64 |
| 4. Coal—Anthracite . . . | Ton. | 4 17 | 4 29 | 4 50 | 4 55 | 4 43 |
| 5. Bituminous | Ton. | 2 30 | 2 51 | 2 29 | 2 46 | 2 43 |
| 6. Copper | Lb. | 164 | 164 | 164 | 163 | 166 |
| 7. Cotton—Raw | Lb. | 098 | 099 | 097 | 085 | 087 |
| 8. Manufactured (colored cloths) | Yd. | 061 | 059 | 058 | 056 | 052 |
| 9. Pig Iron | Ton. | 18 44 | 14 55 | 14 56 | 14 70 | 16 62 |
| 10. Refined Petroleum . . | Gal. | 070 | 063 | 063 | 068 | 062 |
| 11. Fresh Beef | Lb. | 089 | 092 | 092 | 090 | 090 |
| 12. Bacon | Lb. | 078 | 081 | 084 | 091 | 088 |
| 13. Woods (boards, deals and planks) | M. ft. | 17 96 | 18 78 | 17 55 | 16 99 | 17 75 |

The evidence of this table does not indicate that industrial depression threatens the United States. Seven out of the twelve articles selected to form the basis of our comparison, show an advance in price during the first six months of the present year, and the rise in pig iron has been considerable, showing that a large amount of new

construction is still going forward. If the course of commodity prices is any guide to a forecast of the future, the industrial position of the United States is still secure.

Bradstreet's index number, made up from the prices of 105 commodities, shows indeed some decline from the high level reached in 1899, but remains much above the figures of 1898 and the first six months of 1899. The figures are as follows:

| Date. | Index Number. | Date. | Index Number. |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| July 1, 1897 | 66,937 | October 1, 1899 . . . | 86,796 |
| October 1, 1897 | 73,277 | January 1, 1900 . . . | 90,971 |
| January 1, 1898 | 74,184 | April 1, 1900 | 91,175 |
| April 1, 1898 | 73,586 | July 1, 1900 | 86,815 |
| July 1, 1898 | 75,570 | October 1, 1900 . . . | 87,757 |
| October 1, 1898 | 76,562 | January 1, 1901 . . . | 84,873 |
| January 1, 1899 | 77,819 | April 1, 1901 | 83,663 |
| April 1, 1899 | 79,086 | August 1, 1901 . . . | 84,396 |
| July 1, 1899 | 80,818 | | |

It may be seen from this table that on August 1, 1901, wholesale prices were 20.7 per cent higher than on July 1, 1897; 7.8 per cent higher than on January 1, 1899; 4.2 per cent higher than on July 1, 1899, and only 7.4 per cent lower than on April 1, 1900, which was the highest point reached.

Federal Industrial Commissions Report on Trusts.—The Industrial Commission has prepared for transmission to Congress, in December, a critical review of the evidence presented before it by a number of representatives of the leading industrial combinations in the United States on different phases of the trust question.

The following are the more important of the conclusions drawn by the commission:

1. Excessive competition is the chief cause of the formation of industrial combinations.
2. The protection tariff has not been an important factor in their formation.
3. The important savings effected by consolidation are as follows:
 - a. The adaptation of supply to demand by the regulation of production.
 - b. The advantage of carrying smaller stocks of goods, saving interest, insurance and storage.
 - c. The possibility of running factories full time often resulting in a saving of 4 to 8 per cent over the cost of production when running half time.

- d.* Standardizing of a large product and reduction of the number of styles of goods, both causing a reduction in producing cost.
 - e.* Larger use of special machinery, and more careful adaptation of workmen and superintendents to the departments for which they are best suited.
 - f.* Important savings, in the cost of selling and advertising, in smaller losses from bad debts, and in the saving of cross freights.
4. The capitalization of the United States Steel Corporation exclusive of the Carnegie and Rockefeller companies included \$389,918,111 issued for good will.
 5. There is no evidence that the combinations have made arbitrary advances in the prices of raw materials.
 6. None of the combinations has acquired an absolute monopoly in its line of industry. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, controls between 65 and 75 per cent of the steel industry of the United States.
 7. The testimony of substantially all of the combination men is to the same effect—that unless a combination has either some natural monopoly of the raw material, or is protected by a patent, or possibly has succeeded in developing some very popular style or trade-marks or brands, any attempt to put prices at above competitive rates will result eventually in failure, although it may be temporarily successful. On the other hand, by securing control of trade-marks, or by creating a demand for certain brands through skillful advertising, very material advances in prices may often be made.
 8. The charge has been very frequently made that the great combinations are able at times to follow their smaller competitors into local markets, to make prices very low there in order to ruin their rivals, then to recoup themselves by higher prices in the general market. Such a course of procedure is generally looked upon as an unfair method of competition. So far as evidence has been taken before the commission, it does not seem that this practice has been followed by the steel manufacturers.
 9. In regard to concessions in export prices the commission says: "It has been frequently stated that the prices of goods for export are considerably lower than those for the home markets. This is charged against the combinations as a business practice that is not justifiable, and in some instances it is claimed that the protective tariff aids the trust in this practice. On the other hand, not merely the managers of the combinations, but other

business men, claim that the practice is justifiable on sound business reasons in the interest of the laborers and consumers as well as of the manufacturers, and that it is one that is practically universal in all countries. . . .

"Mr. Butler, an iron merchant in Chicago, says that this principle of selling goods for export lower than to home consumers applies not merely to foreign sales, but is practically a universal custom even within the home market. A manufacturer in Chicago, for example, will make, relatively speaking, lower prices to the purchaser in Omaha than to one in Peoria, to one in Denver than to one in Omaha, and to one in San Francisco than to one in Denver. The reason is . . . the fact that every dealer is anxious to extend his sales, and will make whatever sacrifices are necessary to get the market so long as he is not working at an absolute loss. The further he goes, the greater his expenses are and the greater the pressure there is on him; consequently the lower are his prices."

10. In regard to labor unions and wages, the commission finds that most of the combinations have maintained the relations with labor organizations which already existed. The commission also finds that while wages have been raised by the combinations in many instances, it is impossible to say that the advance has not been caused by general trade conditions independent of any peculiar form of organization.

11. The opinion of the commission on the best remedies for the "trust evil," is expressed as follows:

"Probably most of the witnesses think that something could be gained in the way of greater publicity regarding the business of the combinations, but some of the witnesses speak distinctly against any special degree of publicity."

This outcome of the prolonged efforts of the commission is sufficiently non-committal to satisfy the most exacting.

American Invasion of Europe.—One of the points of advantage in international competition upon which Americans have always prided themselves, is the cheaper and more efficient transportation facilities which this country enjoys as compared with Europe. This applies to steam railways but more especially to urban transportation. American transportation development has run far ahead of the best achievements of Europe. It is of great interest to note, therefore, that European transportation methods are likely to be brought up to the American standards by American capital and American initiative. Mr. Yerkes' operations in London are already familiar. Mr. George Westinghouse has interested himself in a project to consolidate, extend and re-equip

the tram lines of Paris. Pittsburg capitalists are seeking to obtain control of the streets of St. Petersburg, and most astonishing of all, an American syndicate has recently made a responsible proposition to the board of the Southeastern Railway of England, offering to take over and operate the line on a forty year lease, to guarantee three per cent on the capital and to increase this guarantee to five per cent during the term of the lease. This offer was coupled with an agreement to deposit a bond of \$5,000,000. The syndicate making the offer expects to make a substantial return over this guarantee by introducing American methods of management.

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ABBREVIATIONS.—In the Index the following abbreviations have been used : *pap.*, principal paper by the person named ; *com.*, communication, by the person named ; *p. n.*, personal note on the person named ; *b.*, review of book of which the person named is the author ; *r.*, review by the person named.

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